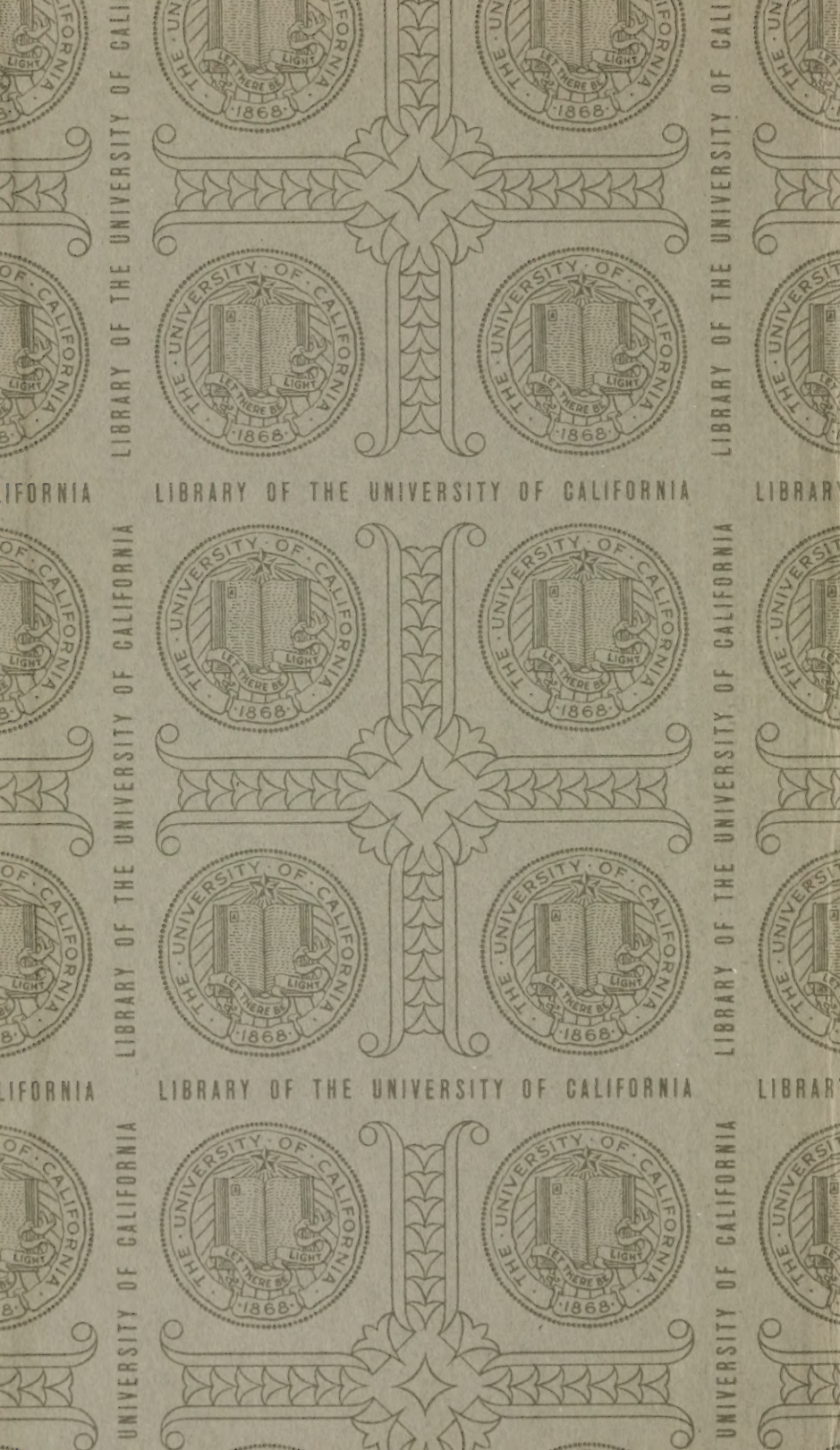


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THE

I. II. III.

PHILIPPICS

OF

DEMOSTHENES.

WITH

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTIONS AND CRITICAL AND  
EXPLANATORY NOTES.

BY

M. J. SMEAD, PH. D.

NEW EDITION, REVISED.

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## P R E F A C E.

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FEW of the ancient authors present such strong claims to the attention of the American student as Demosthenes. Whether we regard the matter or the form of his discourses, or whether we contemplate his character as a patriotic citizen and statesman, we find throughout an excellence and an elevation, which the better we understand the more we are compelled to admire. The period of his political career embraces one of the most interesting portions of ancient history, the last twenty years of the independence of the Greek republics and their subjugation by Philip of Macedon; and his writings contain such a full and at the same time such a faithful delineation of the manners, institutions, laws, and political events of the time, as almost to make him the historian of his age. He would merit this title, however, not so much by the narration of facts in chronological order, as by his masterly manner of appreciating and grouping them together, so as rarely to admit a doubt of the truth and justness of his conclusions. His orations abound in valuable notices of the character and policy of all the members of that celebrated confederacy, their antagonisms and affinities, their feuds, jealousies, and coalitions; but they offer a rich mine of information concerning Athens, that venerated mother of the liberal arts, whose *hegemony* in all that relates to high intellectual culture still remains undisputed. By the aid of his magic words we are enabled

to observe the inward workings of her complicated civil organization, her military and naval systems, her legislative assemblies, her courts of justice, her revenues, and her grand religious festivals at which were produced those masterpieces of genius which have been the admiration of all succeeding ages.

The style of Demosthenes, which belongs to what is denominated the mixed genus, is elaborate and studied. By this, however, is not meant a laborious striving for pointed antitheses, nicely balanced periods, and stately, harmonious cadences, that are frequently so monotonous in the orations of Isocrates; he did not, with the mass of Athenian orators, study to gratify the ear of a refined and fastidious audience by beautiful sentiments clothed in magnificent language, — λέγειν πρὸς ἡδονήν; but to convince and persuade was his great object, to which all other things were subservient. He enters the lists with bared weapons, prepared for earnest fight, “his front bristling with the deadliest points of logic,” and, like the spears of that invincible phalanx founded by his Macedonian adversary, wherever he moves he bears down everything before him. Possessing the fullest confidence in the goodness of his cause, he appears rather to condemn the feeble supports of artificial ornament. Relying upon the correctness of his own judgment, and powerful in the might of truth, he enforces our conviction. They who listen to him have no choice; they are ashamed to hesitate, they must believe. His language, it is true, is polished, but it is the polish of steel, and, like the famous sword Balisarda in the hands of Ariosto's hero, it possesses a celestial temper that no earthly armor can withstand.



And it is difficult to separate the style of Demosthenes from the nervous vigor of his thoughts, so it is difficult to separate the orator from the statesman and the man. He was a republican, not only by birth and education, but from inward conviction. He had carefully studied the history of his country and of the neighboring nations, and had seen Greece, and particularly Athens, under the vivifying influences of free government, attain such an eminence in civilization, and in every thing which was then thought to constitute a people's greatness, that all other lands became contemptible in comparison. He clung to civil liberty as the supreme good and the parent of all the blessings that made life desirable. Hence his unremitted watchfulness for its preservation, and his hatred of all that could undermine it at home or assail it from abroad. His patriotism was his ruling principle; from this, as from a fountain, flowed his whole administrative policy. From the moment that he perceived by Philip's enterprises in the Phocian war, that this monarch entertained designs upon the liberties of Greece, he made it the aim of his life to defeat him. Thenceforward every thing else became subordinate to the task of defending his country's independence against the policy of Macedonia. But alas! Athens had then greatly degenerated from the Athens of former days: corruption had advanced too far to be arrested, and although Demosthenes, by his stirring eloquence, by the energy and wisdom of his counsels, sometimes succeeded in kindling into a flame the remains of patriotic emotion among his countrymen, and impelling them to strenuous exertion, it was only for a brief space; the fitful flashes of light were followed by a deeper gloom, until all hope was extinguished on the fatal field of

Chæroneæ. But admit all the vicissitudes of the long struggle, the most disheartening difficulties, the most imminent dangers, he remained true to his convictions and unshaken in his purposes. From his first participation in public affairs to the moment in which he swallowed poison in the temple of Neptune, we perceive no deviation from his principles, no vacillation, no trace of weakness. Yet his strenuous defence of the cause of liberty, and his fearless attacks upon the partizans of Macedonia, made him many and bitter enemies, whose malice finally succeeded in causing him to be misunderstood by his fellow-citizens, as the wise Socrates and the just Aristides had been before him. And though the Athenians soon recognized their injustice, and sought to efface it by the highest public testimonials of respect, both before and after his death, yet writers have not been wanting, who, inimical to popular freedom, have striven to perpetuate those charges against him, of the truth of which not the slightest proof ever existed. Pausanias has shown that the allegations were wholly groundless, and, even in the absence of his testimony, it were incredible that a man who had devoted his talents and his fortune for so many years to the preservation of his sinking country should, at the age of sixty, belie his whole life and pollute his hand with a bribe! A recent English writer upon Greece (St. John) pays the following well merited tribute to the character of Demosthenes:—

“If genius could regenerate, could pour the blood of youth into the veins of age, could substitute loftiness of sentiment, heroic daring, disinterested love of country, religious faith, spirituality, for sensual self-indulgence, for sordid avarice, for a base distrust in Providence, Demos-

thenes had renewed the youth of Athens. The spirit of the old democratic constitution breathes through all his periods. He stands upon the last defence of the republican world, when all else had been carried, the representative of a noble but perished race, fighting gallantly, though in vain, to preserve that fragment sacred from the foot of the spoiler. The passion and the power of democracy seem concentrated in him. He unites in his character all the richest gifts of nature under the guidance of the most consummate art, and doubtless Hume was right when he said, that, of all human productions, his works approach the nearest to perfection.”\*

The orations contained in the present volume were prepared for publication by the editor during a residence of several years in Germany, where he enjoyed the instructions of the learned Professors Bekker, Boeckh, and Franz at the University of Berlin, and C. F. Hermann at Goettingen. Under their able guidance he applied himself to the study of the prince of Attic orators, and it was with a mind animated by their zeal, and a judgment sharpened by their profound criticisms, that he ventured to entertain the hope of being able to contribute something to the proper understanding of this author among his own countrymen. Beside the valuable aid thus derived, he availed himself of the labors of the most distinguished French, Italian, and German scholars; many of which, consisting of monographs published in the form of tracts or in scientific journals, have never obtained a general circulation, and for that reason are almost inaccessible to students in this country. In this form has appeared much of what has been done during the last twenty years for the critical study of the text, such as

\**Manners and Customs of Ancient Greece*, Vol. III. p. 347.



a description of the most trustworthy manuscripts of Demosthenes which are preserved in different European libraries, accompanied with careful collations, and critical discussions of their age, relative value, and other points. The most important services in this matter have been performed by German scholars, particularly Reiske, Bekker, Voemel, and Ruediger, whose excellent contributions have rendered the most valuable of those manuscripts available without the necessity of personal inspection.

The groundwork of the text which is contained in the best recent editions of Demosthenes was laid by Reiske, who had access to a number of ancient manuscripts in the libraries of Augsburg and Munich. In his revision, he followed mainly the *Codex Augustanus Primus*, recognizing the genuine words of the orator more in that than in any of the others. Bekker had the rare fortune of comparing for his edition fifteen manuscripts contained in the libraries of Paris, Antwerp, and others, some of which agree so remarkably with those used by Reiske as to leave no doubt of their belonging to the same family. One of them, however, the Paris *Codex Σ*, of the tenth century, though bearing all the marks of genuineness, was found to differ in many respects from any previously known. This Bekker adopted as his leading authority, but, while he acknowledged its superiority in the main, he did not venture to follow it altogether. Since the time of his revision, many of the best philologists of Germany have considered this *Codex* as a purer exhibition of the text of Demosthenes than any of the rest of the manuscripts, and have expressed their decided conviction that all his orations should be restored in accordance with it. One of the principal grounds for

this preference, beside the internal evidence of greater Attic purity and forcible simplicity of expression, consists in the close coincidence between it and other ancient authors, especially the grammarians Hermogenes, Dionysius, and others, who cite passages of this orator; and this circumstance affords evidence that it has escaped many of the corruptions which other manuscripts have suffered in their transmission to modern times. A careful collation of the numerous *Codices* has led to a division of them into branches or families, possessing such marked resemblances as prove a common descent. Judging from the writings of the grammarians above alluded to, this distinction must have existed at a very early period; and many eminent critics have expressed the opinion, that, even in the lifetime of the orator, at least two recensions existed. One of these, they say, contained the original speeches in the form in which they were delivered, and which has been most faithfully preserved in the *Codex Σ*; the other was a revision of the first, made by Demosthenes himself for more general circulation, as is inferred from the numerous additions made in it, and the greater fulness of expression which characterizes it; the chief representative of this family being Reiske's *Codex Augustanus Primus*. A third recension is also assumed, represented by the Venetian *Codex Marcianus F* of the eleventh century, and the *Codex Bavaricus* of the thirteenth century, which is merely a copy of *F*; this recension, being less accurate than the others, is conjectured to have had its origin from some person in the Athenian Assembly, who reported the words of the speaker.

The Paris *Codex Σ*, which was first employed by Bekker, has in later years so much risen in the estimation of the

learned that it has almost revolutionized the text of Demosthenes. As already remarked, it differs considerably from all the rest. It is distinguished by remarkable brevity, force, and purity. Often one or more words are wanting, whereby the thought is incomplete and unintelligible; such gaps have been supplied by a later hand on the margin, and these additions are designated by Bekker with the letters  $\gamma\rho$  ( $\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\iota\zeta\acute{o}\varsigma$ ), which have been retained in this edition. It appears probable that these were in some cases the conjectures of an ingenious and learned reader, but that all were not so is evident from the fact, that in many instances the supplementary words are confirmed by the citations found in the grammarians and rhetoricians. The second recension, on the other hand, is marked by many grammatical peculiarities, but particularly by numerous explanatory additions, through which the thought acquires that completeness of expression which belongs to the common dialect, without varying materially in other respects.

In no part of Demosthenes does the difference between the *Codex Σ* and the other manuscripts appear so striking as in the Third Philippic, to the peculiar condition of which Spengel first directed the attention of critics. This oration, which is accounted one of the finest, is found there very much abbreviated. Whole sentences and thoughts are wanting which are preserved in the other manuscripts, and which in *Σ* have been supplied by a later hand upon the margin. If we read according to *Σ*, nothing appears to be wanting to the sense; all is natural and congruous; a proof that it could not be the work of chance; while in several of the supplementary passages, particularly in §§ 46 and 75, we find a want of coherence strangely at variance with the



orator's usual perspicuity. These omissions in the *Codex Σ*, which, in the present edition, are inclosed in brackets, are nevertheless generally written in the true spirit of Demosthenes, a circumstance that renders it extremely probable that he added them in his revision, or at least that they were supplied from it by another hand, without sufficient attention in all cases to congruity. The long passage, for example, which embraces the whole of §§ 6 and 7, on pages 39 and 40, is wanting in the text of the oldest manuscript, and is not only unnecessary to the connection, but even disturbs it, since what the orator had said in the beginning, that all were agreed about the necessity of adopting measures for curbing Philip's insolence, is contradicted in § 6, where he says so many are disposed to cast the guilt of commencing hostilities upon the Athenians, that it is necessary to refute the charge. Yet the whole passage is so clearly in the style of Demosthenes, as to admit no doubt of its genuineness. Many of the other omissions of *Codex Σ*, which are found incorporated into the text of other manuscripts, bear traces of having been inserted subsequently to the original composition, so that we possess in the Third Philippic the original oration with additions and explanations by the author. The editor having proposed to himself to adhere to the reading of *Codex Σ* wherever it seemed admissible, could not, as Bekker and Voemel have done, consistently receive these passages into the text without a mark to designate them; nor, on the other hand, did he deem it proper to banish them, like Baiter and Sauppe, to the foot-notes, which, for most readers, is nearly equivalent to withholding them altogether.

In composing the commentary, he has endeavored to

furnish such information as the student most needs for the proper understanding of the author. For this purpose he did not hesitate to lay under contribution all the best sources to which the kind liberality of the librarians at Berlin and Goettingen gave him access, since his object was not merely to give the results of his own investigations, but to put the reader, as far as consisted with the necessary brevity, in possession of what has been done by others for the elucidation of these orations. Verbal criticism has been indulged in only so far as was needful for the illustration of oratorical diction, while much attention has been given to the explanation of allusions to usages, institutions, history, and political relations. His motive for pursuing this course was twofold: first, the student, whose attainments in the Greek language qualify him to read Demosthenes, requires rather an explanation of things than of words; and secondly, the editor hoped, by giving prominence to investigations concerning the life and manners of the Greeks, to interest others, teachers as well as pupils, in a more earnest examination of the ingredients that composed the most wonderful civilization which the world has ever seen. This knowledge constitutes by itself one of the most important aims of classical study, since it is requisite for obtaining any just and enlarged views of the history of human culture; and moreover, in the interpretation of the ancient writings, particularly of those which, like the deliberative orations of Demosthenes, are the immediate offspring of the times, it furnishes aids the value of which cannot easily be overrated. For the purpose of presenting a connected view of the circumstances that called forth the several orations, and thus placing the student, as far as possible, in the position of a

hearer, historical Introductions are prefixed to the notes on each Philippic.

The editor wishes to acknowledge the valuable aid rendered him in the printing of the work by his friend, Charles Short, A. M., of Roxbury, Massachusetts, by whose critical care in the correction of the press, a high degree of accuracy, he has reason to believe, has been attained.

WILLIAMSBURG, Va., June, 1851.

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## P R E F A C E T O T H E S E C O N D E D I T I O N .

IN reviewing the notes for the second edition, the author has made such additions and corrections as he, in several years use of the volume as a class book, has found most useful and necessary.

September, 1859.





## EXPLANATION

OF THE ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS USED IN THE  
MARGINAL NOTES ON THE TEXT.

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- B. & S. *Oratores Attici. Ed. J. G. BAITERUS et HERM. SAUPPIUS. Turici, 1838 – 45.*
- Bk. *Oratores Attici ex Recensione IMM. BEKKERI. Berolini, 1824, et Oxonii, 1823.*
- Buttm. *Larger Greek Grammar. PHILIP BUTTMANN. 13th ed. Andover, 1833.*
- Dind. *Demosthenis Orationes. Ed. G. DINDORF. Lipsiæ, 1825.*
- Fr. *Demosthenis Orationes Philippicæ Novem. Ed. F. FRANKE. Lipsiæ, 1842.*
- Funkh. Obs. crit. *Observationes Criticæ in Demosthenis Philippicam Tertiam. Dedit C. H. FUNKHAENEL. Isenæ, 1841.*
- Reisk. *Oratorum Græcorum quæ supersunt Monumenta Ingenii. Ed. J. J. REISKE. Lipsiæ, 1770 – 75.*
- Rued. *Philippicæ Orationes. Ed. C. A. RUEDIGER. Lipsiæ, 1829 – 33.*
- Saup. *Demosthenis Orationes Selectæ (Bibliothecæ Græcæ). Ed. HERM. SAUPPIUS. Gothæ, 1845.*
- Schæf. *Demosthenis Opera. Ed. G. H. SCHAEFER. Lipsiæ, 1821 – 22.*
- “ *Apparatus Criticus et Exegeticus ad Demosthenem. Ed. G. H. SCHAEFER. Lipsiæ et Londini, 1824 – 27.*
- Speng. Diss. *L. SPENGLER über die dritte Philippische Rede des Demosthenes. Gelesen in der Sitzung der Königl. Bayerischen Academie der Wissenschaften, den 6 Julius, 1839.*

- Vig. F. VIGERI *de Græcæ Dictionis Idiotismis Liber*.  
Ed. G. HERMANN. Ed. IV<sup>a</sup>. Lipsiæ, 1834.
- Voem. *Demosthenis Opera Græce et Latine*. Ed. J. T.  
VOEMEL. Parisiis, 1847.

- Σ *Codex Parisiensis Regius*, no. 2934. Of the tenth century.
- Υ *Codex Parisiensis Regius*, no. 2935.
- F *Codex Marcianus*, no. 416, in Venice. Of the eleventh century.
- Ω *Codex Antverpiensis Soc. Jesu*, no. 43. Closely approaches Σ.

The above MSS. are those on which BEKKER chiefly relied in making his recension of the text.

- B. *Codex Bavaricus*, no. 85, in Munich. Of the thirteenth century.
- |                |  |  |
|----------------|--|--|
| A <sup>1</sup> | <i>Codex Augustanus Primus</i> , no. 485 | } Now in Munich,<br>but formerly in<br>Augsburg. |
| A <sup>2</sup> | “ “ <i>Secundus</i> , “ 441              |  |
| A <sup>3</sup> | “ “ <i>Tertius</i> , “ 432               |  |

The foregoing are the principal authorities followed by REISKE in his edition.

- Dresd. *Codex Dresdensis*, of the fifteenth century in Dresden.
- G. *Codex Gothanus*. In Gotha.
- H. or Harl. “ *Harleianus*, of the thirteenth century. In England. One of those collated by JOHN TAYLOR. See DOBSON'S edition of the Attic Orators, p. xci.
- θ *Codex Parisiensis Regius*. One of those used by MORELIUS in preparing the *Editio Lutetiana sive Parisina*.

- |          |                          |                              |
|----------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| γρ.      | γραμματικὸς.             | See Preface, pp. ix. et seq. |
| cod.     | codex.                   |                              |
| codd.    | codices.                 |                              |
| cf.      | confer.                  |                              |
| om.      | omisit, omiserunt.       |                              |
| pr. Σ, Υ | prima manu Σ, Υ.         |                              |
| rec.     | recepit, receperunt.     |                              |
| rej.     | rejecit.                 |                              |
| vulg.    | Recensio vulgata, vulgo. |                              |



ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α' Β' Γ'.



# ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

## Ο ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ 'Α'.

### ΛΙΒΑΝΙΟΥ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Κακῶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φερόμενοι  
συνεληλύθασιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀθυμοῦντες. Ὅ τοῖνυν ῥήτωρ τὴν τε  
ἀθυμίαν πειρᾶται παύειν, λέγων οὐδὲν εἶναι θαυμαστὸν εἰ ῥαθυμοῦντες  
κεκράτηνται, καὶ εἰσηγείται πῶς ἂν ἄριστα τῷ πολέμῳ προσενεχθεῖεν.  
Κελεύει δὴ δύο δυνάμεις παρασκευάσασθαι, μίαν μὲν μείζω, πολιτικὴν, 5  
ἥτις οἴκοι μένουσα πρὸς τὰς κατὰ καιρὸν χρείας ἑτοιμος ὑπάρξει, ἑτέραν  
δὲ ἐλάττω, ξένων ὄντων τῶν στρατευομένων, παραμεμιγμένων δέ, κε-  
λεύει τὴν δύναμιν μὴ Ἀθήνησι μένειν μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ποιεῖσθαι  
τὰς βοηθείας, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀναστρέφεσθαι πολεμοῦσαν  
ἀδιαλείπτως, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἐτησίας πνέοντας ἐπιτηρήσας ὁ Φίλιππος ἢ 10  
καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα, ἥνικα Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν πλεῖν οὐ δυνατόν,  
ἐπιχειρῇ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
ἀπάντων κρατῇ, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιταξομένη δύναμις  
ὑπάρχῃ.

1. Εἰ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινὸς πράγματος προὔτίθετο, 15  
ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λέγειν, ἐπισχῶν ἂν ἕως οἱ πλεῖ-  
στοι τῶν εἰωθότων γνώμην ἀπεφύγαντο, εἰ μὲν ἡρεσκέ



τί μοι τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ῥηθέντων, ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἦγον, εἰ  
 δὲ μή, τότ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπειρώμην ἃ γιγνώσκω λέγειν.  
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὕπὲρ ὧν πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν οὗτοι πρότε-  
 ρον συμβαίνει καὶ νυνὶ σκοπεῖν, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πρῶτος  
 5 ἀναστὰς εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν. Εἰ γὰρ ἐκ  
 τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου τὰ δέονθ' οὗτοι συνεβού-  
 λευσαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμᾶς νῦν ἔδει βουλευέσθαι.

2. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀθυμητέον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι, τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν, οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ φαύλως  
 10 ἔχειν δοκεῖ. Ὁ γάρ ἐστι χεῖριστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ πα-  
 ρεληλυθότος χρόνου, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον  
 ὑπάρχει. Τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; ὅτι οὐδὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι, τῶν δεόντων ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματ'  
 ἔχει. 3' Ἐπεὶ τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ἃ προσῆκε πραττόντων  
 15 οὕτως εἶχεν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ βελτίω γενέσθαι.

3. Ἐπειτ' ἐνθυμητέον καὶ παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούουσι καὶ  
 τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμιμνησκομένοις, ἡλικίην ποτ' ἐχόν-  
 των δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολὺς, ὥς  
 καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμεῖς ἐπράξατε  
 20 τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὑπεμείναθ' ὑπὲρ ἑτῶν δικαίων\* τὸν  
 πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον. Τίνος οὖν ἔνεκα ταῦτα λέγω;

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸς Bk. B. & S. καὶ αὐτὸς Υ. Α<sup>1</sup>. H.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπὲρ Σ. Υ. Σ<sup>m</sup>. Α<sup>2</sup>. H. περὶ Bk.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐπεὶ τοι, εἰ Bk. B. & S. Ἐπεὶ εἴ τοι Σ. F. B. Α<sup>2</sup>. Ἐπειτοίγε, εἰ  
 vulg.

<sup>4</sup> τῶν δικαίων\* Schaef. B. & S. τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων Υ. in  
 margine F. vulg.

ἴν' εἰδῆτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεάσησθε, ὅτι οὐδὲν  
 οὔτε φυλαττομένοις ὑμῖν ἐστὶ φοβερὸν οὔτ', ἂν ὀλιγω-  
 ρῆτε, τοιοῦτον οἶον ἂν ὑμεῖς βούλοισθε\*, παραδείγμασι  
 χρώμενοι τῇ τότε ῥώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἧς ἐκρατεῖτ'  
 ἐκ τοῦ προσέχειν τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν, καὶ τῇ νῦν 5  
 ὑβρεὶ τούτου, δι' ἣν ταραττόμεθ' ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν  
 ὧν ἐχρῆν. 4. Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δυσ-  
 πολέμητον οἶεται τὸν Φίλιππον εἶναι, σκοπῶν τό τε  
 πλήθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ τὰ  
 χωρία πάντα ἀπολωλέναι τῇ πόλει, ὀρθῶς μὲν οἶεται, 10  
 λογισάσθω μέντοι τοῦθ', ὅτι εἴχομέν ποθ' ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄν-  
 δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Πύδναν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ  
 πάντα τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οἰκεῖον κύκλῳ, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν  
 μετ' ἐκείνου νῦν ὄντων ἔθνων αὐτονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύ-  
 θερ' ὑπῆρχε καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἡβούλετ' ἔχειν οἰκείως ἢ 15  
 2' κείνῳ. 5. Εἰ τοίνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε ταύτην ἔσχε  
 τὴν γνώμην, ὥς χαλεπὸν πολεμεῖν ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίοις  
 ἔχουσι τοσαύτ' ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας ἔρημον  
 ὄντα συμμάχων, οὐδὲν ἂν ὧν νυνὶ πεποίηκεν ἔπραξεν,  
 οὐδὲ τοσαύτην ἐκτήσατο δύναμιν. Ἀλλ' εἶδεν, ὦ ἄνδρες 20  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο καλῶς ἐκείνος, ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν  
 ἅπαντα τὰ χωρία, ἄθλα τοῦ πολέμου κείμεν' ἐν μέσῳ,  
 φύσει δ' ὑπάρχει τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ τοῖς  
 ἐθέλουσι πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ τῶν ἀμελούντων.

1 βούλοισθε\* B. & S. βούλησθε Bk.

2 'κείνῳ Bk. B. & S. Σ. cet. codd. ἐκείνῳ.

6. Καὶ γὰρ τοι ταύτῃ χρησάμενος τῇ γνώμῃ πάντα κατέστραπται καὶ ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἂν ἐλών τις ἔχοι πολέμῳ, τὰ δὲ σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα ποιησάμενος. Καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν  
 5 ἅπαντες, οὓς ἂν ὀρώσι παρεσκευασμένους καὶ πρίττειν ἐθέλοντας ἃ χρή. 7. Ἄν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι γνώμης νῦν, ἐπειδὴπερ οὐ πρότερον, καὶ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν, οὐδεὶς καὶ δύναιτ' ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει,  
 10 πᾶσαν ἀφείς τὴν εἰρωνεῖαν, ἕτοιμος πρίττειν ὑπάρξῃ, ὁ μὲν χρήματ' ἔχων εἰσφέρειν, ὁ δ' ἐν ἱλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι, — συνελόντι δ' ἀπλῶς, ἦν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι καὶ παύσῃσθ' αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἕκαστος ποιήσῃν ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ πλησίον πάνθ' ὑπὲρ <sup>1</sup>αὐτοῦ πρά-  
 15 ξειν, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν κομιεῖσθε, ἂν θεὸς <sup>2</sup>θέλῃ, καὶ τὰ κατερῥαθυμημένα πάλιν ἀναλίσψεσθε, καὶ κείνους τιμωρήσεσθε. 8. Μὴ γὰρ ὡς θεῶ νομίζετ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ παρόντα πεπηγέναι πράγματ' ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τις ἐκείνους καὶ δέδιεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φθονεῖ,  
 20 καὶ τῶν πάντων νῦν δοκούντων οἰκείως <sup>3</sup>ἔχειν. Καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα περ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ἐνι, ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνου χρὴ νομίζειν ἐνεῖναι. Κατέπτηχε μέντοι πάντα ταῦτα νῦν, οὐκ ἔχοντ' ἀποστροφὴν

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ B. & S. αὐτοῦ Bk. Voem.

<sup>2</sup> θέλῃ omnes codd. praeter F. ἐθέλῃ F. Bk. ἑθέλῃ Voem.

<sup>3</sup> ἔχειν S. B. & S. ἔχειν αὐτῷ Bk. Voem.

διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ ῥαθυμίαν, ἣν ἀποθέ-  
 σθαι φημι δεῖν ἤδη. 9. Ὁρᾶτε γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι, τὸ πρᾶγμα, οἱ προελήλυθεν ἀσελγείας ἄνθρωπος,  
 ὃς οὐδ' αἵρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδωσι τοῦ πράττειν ἢ ἄγειν ἡσυ-  
 χίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπειλεῖ καὶ λόγους ὑπερηφάνους, ὥς φασι, 5  
 λέγει, καὶ οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν ἔχων ἃ κατέστραπται μένειν  
 ἐπὶ τούτων, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τι προσπεριβάλλεται καὶ κύκλω  
 πανταχῇ μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς καὶ καθημένους περιστοιχι-  
 ζεται. 10. Πότ' οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πόθ' ἃ χρὴ  
 πράξετε; ἐπειδὴν τί γένηται; ἐπειδὴν νῆ Δί' <sup>1</sup> ἀνάγκη 1C  
 ᾗ. Νῦν δὲ τί χρὴ τὰ γιγνόμεν' ἡγεῖσθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν  
 γὰρ οἶομαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπὲρ  
 τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι. Ἡ βούλεσθε, εἰπέ-  
 μοι, περιμόντες αὐτῶν <sup>2</sup> πυνθάνεσθαι. λέγεται τί καινόν;  
 γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν τι καινότερον ἢ Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ Ἀθη- 15  
 ναίους καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διοικῶν;  
 11. Τέθνηκε Φίλιππος; οὐ μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ. Τί  
 δ' ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ, ταχέως  
 ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἅνπερ οὕτω προσέχητε  
 τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν 20  
 αὐτοῦ ῥώμην τοσοῦτον <sup>3</sup> ἐπηύξηται, ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ἡμε-  
 τέραν ἀμέλειαν. 12. Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο· εἴ τι πάθοι

<sup>1</sup> ἀνάγκη Σ. Β. & S. ἀνάγκη τις Bk. Voem.

<sup>2</sup> πυνθάνεσθαι F. pr. Σ. Β. Β. & S. πυνθάνεσθαι [κατὰ τὴν  
 ἀγοράν] Bk.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπηύξηται Bk. B & S. ἐπηύξηκεν Σ. ἐπηύξηκεν F.



καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης <sup>1</sup> ἡμῖν, ἥπερ αἰεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν  
 αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιο, ἴσθ' ὅτι  
 πλησίον μὲν ὄντες, ἅπασιν ἂν τοῖς πράγμασι τεταρά-  
 γμένοις ἐπιστάντες ὅπως βούλεσθε διοικῆσαισθε, ὥς δὲ  
 5 νῦν ἔχετε, οὐδὲ διδόντων τῶν καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν δέξα-  
 σθαι δύναισθ' ἂν, ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς  
 καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις.

13. Ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας  
 ὑπάρχειν ἅπαντας ἐτοίμως, ὥς ἐγνωκότων ὑμῶν καὶ  
 10 πεπεισμένων, παύομαι λέγων, τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς πα-  
 ρασκευῆς ἣν ἀπαλλάξαι ἂν τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων  
<sup>2</sup> ἡμᾶς <sup>3</sup> οἶομαι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον, καὶ πόρους οὕστι-  
 νας χρημάτων, καὶ τὰλλα ὥς ἂν μοι βέλτιστα καὶ  
 τάχιστα δοκεῖ παρασκευασθῆναι, καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι  
 15 λέγειν, δεηθεῖς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοσοῦτον·

14. ἐπειδὴν ἅπαντα ἀκούσητε, κρίνατε, μὴ πρότερον  
 προλαμβάνετε, μηδ' ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκῶ τινὲ καινὴν  
 παρασκευὴν λέγειν, ἀναβάλλειν με τὰ πράγμαθ'  
 ἡγείσθω. Οὐ γὰρ οἱ ταχὺ καὶ τήμερον εἰπόντες μά-  
 20 λιστ' εἰς δέον λέγουσιν (<sup>4</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἂν τά γ' ἤδη γεγενη-  
 μένα τῇ νυνὶ βοηθείᾳ κωλύσαι δυνηθείημεν), 15. ἀλλ'  
 ὅς ἂν δείξῃ τίς πορισθεῖσα παρασκευὴ καὶ πόσις καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἡμῖν Σ. Β. & S. ἡμῖν ὑπάρξει Υ. ἡμῖν ὑπάρξαι in margine Σ.  
 Bk. Voem.

<sup>2</sup> ἡμᾶς Σ. Β. & S. ὑμᾶς Bk. Voem.

<sup>3</sup> οἶομαι Σ. Β. & S. ἡγοῦμαι Bk.

<sup>4</sup> (οὐ γὰρ ἂν . . . . δυνηθείημεν) Bk.

πόθεν διαμείναι δυνήσεται, ἕως ἂν ἢ διαλυσώμεθα πει-  
 σθέντες τὸν πόλεμον ἢ περιγενώμεθα τῶν ἐχθρῶν.  
 Οὕτω γὰρ οὐκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ πάσχοιμεν ἂν κακῶς.  
 Οἶμαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν, μὴ <sup>1</sup>κωλύων εἴ  
 τις ἄλλος ἐπαγγέλλεταιί τι. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑπόσχεσις 5  
 οὕτω μεγάλη, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμ' ἥδη τὸν ἑλεγχον δώσει,  
 κριταὶ δ' ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθε.

16. Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τριήρεις  
 πεντήκοντα παρασκευάσασθαί φημι δεῖν, εἴτ' αὐτοὺς  
 οὕτω τὰς γνώμας ἔχειν ὥς, εἴν τι δέῃ, πλευστέον εἰς 10  
 ταύτας αὐτοῖς ἐμβᾶσιν. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, τοῖς ἡμίσεσι  
 τῶν ἱππέων ἱππαγωγοὺς τριήρεις καὶ πλοῖ' ἱκανὰ εὐ-  
 τρεπίσαι κελεύω. 17. Ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν ὑπάρχειν  
 ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξαίφνης ταύτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας χώρας αὐτοῦ  
 στρατείας εἰς Πύλας καὶ Χερρόνησον καὶ Ὀλυνθον καὶ 15  
 ὅποι βούλεται. Δεῖ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τοῦτ' ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ  
<sup>2</sup>παραστήσαι, ὥς ὑμεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀμελείας ταύτης τῆς  
 ἄγαν, ὥσπερ εἰς Εὐβοίαν καὶ πρότερόν ποτέ φασιν εἰς  
 Ἀλίартον καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα πρόην εἰς Πύλας, ἴσως ἂν  
 ὀρμήσαιτε. 18. Οὗτοι παντελῶς, οὐδ' εἰ μὴ ποιήσaiτ' 20  
 ἂν τοῦτο, ὥς ἔγωγέ φημι δεῖν, εὐκαταφρόνητόν ἐστιν, ἵν'  
 ἢ διὰ τὸν φόβον εἰδὼς εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς (εἴσεται γὰρ ἀκρι-  
 βῶς· εἰσὶ γάρ, εἰσὶν οἱ πάντ' ἐξαγγέλλοντες ἐκείνῳ

<sup>1</sup> κωλύων Bk. B. & S. καταλύων Σ.

<sup>2</sup> παραστήσαι Σ. παραστήναι Bk. Voem. B. & S. cf. Orat. de  
 Cor. § 1.

παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πλείους τοῦ δέοντος) ἡσυχίαν ἔχῃ, ἢ  
 παριδὼν ταῦτα, ἀφύλακτος ληφθῇ, μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐμπο-  
 δὼν πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν ὑμῖν, ἂν ἐνδῶ καιρόν.

19. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἃ πᾶσι δεδόχθαι φημὶ δεῖν καὶ  
 5 παρεσκευάσθαι προσήκειν οἶμαι. <sup>1</sup>Πρὸ δὲ τούτων δύ-  
 ναμίν τινα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φημὶ προχειρίσασθαι  
 δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἢ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ κακῶς ἐκείνον ποι-  
 ῆσει (μή μοι μυρίους μῆδὲ δισμυρίους ξένους μῆδὲ τὰς  
 ἐπιστολιμαίους ταύτας δυνάμεις), <sup>2</sup>ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως  
 10 <sup>3</sup>ἔσται, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἓνα καὶ πλείους καὶ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ  
 ὄντινόν περ χειροτονήσητε στρατηγόν, τούτῳ πείσεται  
 καὶ ἀκολουθήσει, καὶ τροφὴν ταύτῃ πορίσαι κελεύω.  
 20. Ἔσται δ' αὕτη τις ἡ δύναμις καὶ πόσις, καὶ πόθεν  
 τὴν τροφὴν ἔξει, καὶ πῶς ταῦτ' <sup>4</sup>ἐθελήσει ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ  
 15 φράσω, καθ' ἕκαστον τούτων διεξιὼν χωρὶς. Ξένους μὲν  
 λέγω — καὶ ὅπως μὴ <sup>5</sup>ποιήσητε τοῦθ' ὃ πολλάκις ὑμᾶς  
 ἔβλαψεν· πάντ' ἐλάττω νομίζοντες εἶναι τοῦ δέοντος,  
 καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν αἰρούμενοι, ἐπὶ τῷ  
 πράττειν οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ ποιεῖτε· ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ  
 20 ποιήσαντες καὶ πορίσαντες, τούτοις προστίθετε, ἂν  
 ἐλάττω φαίνεται. 21. Λέγω δὴ τοὺς πάντας στρα-  
 τιώτας δισχιλίους, τούτων δ' Ἀθηναίους φημὶ δεῖν

<sup>1</sup> Πρὸ δὲ τούτων Σ. Β. & S. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Bk.

<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' ἢ Bk. et omnes praeter Saup. qui ἀλλ' ἢ recepit.

<sup>3</sup> ἔσται Σ. Bk. B & S. ἔστω vulg.

<sup>4</sup> ἐθελήσει Σ. Β. & S. ἐθελήσετε Bk.

<sup>5</sup> ποιήσητε Codd. ποιήσετε Bk. B. & S.

εἶναι πεντακοσίους, ἐξ ἧς ἂν τινος ὑμῖν ἡλικίας καλῶς  
 ἔχειν δοκῇ, χρόνον τακτὸν στρατευομένους, μὴ μακρὸν  
 τούτου, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐκ διαδοχῆς  
 ἀλλήλοις. Τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ξένους εἶναι κελεύω. Καὶ  
 μετὰ τούτων ἱππέας διακοσίους, καὶ τούτων πεντήκοντ' <sup>5</sup>  
 Ἀθηναίους τοῦλάχιστον, ὥσπερ τοὺς πεζοὺς, τὸν αὐ-  
 τὸν τρόπον στρατευομένους. Καὶ ἱππαγωγὸν τοῖτοις.  
 22. Εἶεν. Τί πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι; Ταχείας τριήρεις δέκα.  
 Δεῖ γάρ, ἔχοντος ἐκείνου ναυτικόν, καὶ τὰχειῶν <sup>1</sup>τριήρων  
 ἡμῖν, ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς ἡ δύναμις πλέῃ. Πόθεν δὲ τού- 10  
 τοις ἡ τροφή γενήσεται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω καὶ  
 δείξω, ἐπειδάν, διότι τηλικαύτην ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι τὴν  
 δύναμιν καὶ πολίτας τοὺς στρατευομένους εἶναι κελεύω,  
 διδάξω.

23. Τοσαύτην μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διὰ ταῦτα, 15  
 ὅτι οὐκ ἐνὶ νῦν ἡμῖν πορίσασθαι δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνην  
 παραταξομένην, ἀλλὰ ληστεύειν ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτῳ τῷ  
 τρόπῳ τοῦ πολέμου χρῆσθαι τὴν πρώτην. Οὐ τοίνυν  
 ὑπέρογκον αὐτήν (οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μισθὸς οὐδὲ τροφή) οὐδὲ  
 παντελῶς ταπεινὴν εἶναι δεῖ. Πολίτας δὲ παρῆναι 20  
 καὶ συμπλεῖν διὰ ταῦτα κελεύω, ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν ποτ'  
 ἀκούω ξενικὸν τρέφειν ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὴν πόλιν, οὗ Πο-  
 λύστρατος ἡγείτο καὶ Ἰφικράτης καὶ Χαβρίας καὶ ἄλ-  
 λοι τινές, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς συστρατεύεσθαι. Καὶ οἶδ'  
 ἀκούων ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίους παραταττόμενοι μεθ' ὑμῶν 25

<sup>1</sup> τριήρων Bk. τριηρῶν Σ. Γ. Υ.



ἐνίκων οὗτοι οἱ ξένοι καὶ ὑμεῖς μετ' ἐκείνων. 24. Ἐξ  
οὗ δ' αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ τὰ ξενικὰ ὑμῖν στρατεύεται, τοὺς  
φίλους νικᾷ καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, οἱ δ' ἐχθροὶ μείζους  
τοῦ δέοντος γεγόνασιν. Καὶ παρακύψαντ' ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς  
5 πόλεως πόλεμον, πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον καὶ <sup>1</sup>πανταχοῖ μάλ-  
λον οἴχεται πλέοντα, ὃ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ, εἰκό-  
τως· οὐ γὰρ ἔστ' ἄρχειν μὴ διδόντα μισθόν. 25. Τί  
οὖν κελεύω; τὰς προφάσεις ἀφελεῖν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ  
καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, μισθὸν πορίσαντας καὶ στρατιώ-  
10 τας οἰκείους ὥσπερ ἐπόπτας τῶν στρατηγουμένων πα-  
ρακαταστήσαντας, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε γέλως ἔσθ' ὥς χρώμεθα  
τοῖς πράγμασιν. Εἰ γὰρ ἔροιτό τις ὑμᾶς, “Εἰρήνην  
ἄγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι;” Μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἡμεῖς γε, εἴ-  
ποιτ' ἄν, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ πολεμοῦμεν. 26. Οὐκ ἐχειρο-  
15 τονεῖτε δ' ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξιάρχους καὶ στρατη-  
γοὺς καὶ φυλάρχους, καὶ ἱππάρχους δύο; Τί οὖν οὗτοι  
ποιοῦσιν; πλὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρός, ὃν ἂν ἐκπέμψητ' ἐπὶ τὸν  
πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν μετὰ  
τῶν ἱεροποιῶν. “Ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάττοντες τοὺς πηλί-  
20 νους, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτονεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ  
τοὺς φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. 27. Οὐ γὰρ  
ἐχρήν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν,  
<sup>2</sup>ἵππαρχον παρ' ὑμῶν ἄρχοντας οἰκείους εἶναι, ἢ ἢν  
ὥς ἀληθῶς τῆς πόλεως ἡ δύναμις; ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν Αἴημον

<sup>1</sup> πανταχοῖ Σ. Bk. Saur. πανταχοῦ vulg.

<sup>2</sup> ἵππαρχον Σ. B & S. ἱπάρχους Bk.

τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἵππαρχον δεῖ πλεῖν, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν  
τῆς πόλεως κτημάτων ἀγωνιζομένων Μενέλαον ἵππαρ-  
χεῖν; καὶ οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα μεμφόμενος ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ'  
ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἔδει κεχειροτονημένον εἶναι τοῦτον, ὅστις  
ἂν ᾔη.

5

28. Ἰσως δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἡγείσθε λέγεσθαι, τὸ  
δὲ τῶν χρημάτων, πόσα καὶ πόθεν ἔσται, μάλιστα πο-  
θεῖτ' ἀκοῦσαι. Τοῦτο δὴ καὶ <sup>1</sup>περαίνω. Χρήματα  
τοίνυν, ἐστὶ μὲν ἡ τροφή, σιτηρέσιον μόνον τῇ δυνάμει  
ταύτῃ, τάλαντ' ἐνενήκοντα καὶ μικρόν τι πρὸς· δέκα 10  
μὲν ναυσὶ ταχεύαις τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, ἕκκοσιν εἰς  
τὴν ναῦν μναῖ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου, στρατιώταις δὲ δισχι-  
λίοις τοσαυθ' ἕτερα, ἵνα δέκα τοῦ μηνὸς ὁ στρατιώτης  
δραχμὰς σιτηρέσιον λαμβάνῃ, τοῖς δ' ἵππεύσι διακο-  
σίοις οὖσιν, ἐν τριάκοντα δραχμὰς ἕκαστος λαμβάνῃ 15  
τοῦ μηνός, δώδεκα τάλαντα. 29. Εἰ δέ τις οἶεται μικρὰν  
<sup>2</sup>ἀφορμὴν εἶναι, σιτηρέσιον τοῖς στρατευομένοις ὑπάρ-  
χειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκεν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα σαφῶς ὅτι,  
τουτ' ἂν γένηται, προσποριεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτὸ τὸ στρά-  
τευμ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδένα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀδικοῦν 20  
οὐδὲ τῶν συμμάχων, ὅστ' ἔχειν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ. Ἐγὼ  
συμπλέων ἐθελοντῆς πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν ἑτοιμος, ἐὰν μὴ  
ταυθ' οὕτως ἔχη. Πόθεν οὖν ὁ πόρος τῶν χρημάτων,  
ἃ παρ' ὑμῶν κελεύω γενέσθαι, τουτ' ἤδη λέξω.

<sup>1</sup> περαίνω Σ. Bk. B. & S. περανῶ vulg.

<sup>2</sup> ἀφορμὴν εἶναι Σ. F. ἀφορμὴν Bk.

## ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ.

30. Ἄ μὲν ἡμεῖς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεδυνήμεθ' εὐρεῖν, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐπιχειροτούητε τὰς γνώμας, ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη <sup>1</sup> χειροτονήσετε, ἵνα μὴ μόνον  
 5 <sup>2</sup> ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ <sup>3</sup> ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πολεμήτε Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις.

31. Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἂν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅλης τῆς παρασκευῆς βουλευσασθαι, εἰ τὸν τόπον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς χώρας, πρὸς ἣν πολε-  
 10 μεῖτε, ἐνθυμηθείητε, καὶ λογίσαισθε ὅτι τοῖς πνεύμασι καὶ ταῖς ὥραις τοῦ ἔτους τὰ πολλὰ προλαμβάνων δια-  
 πράττεται Φίλιππος καὶ φυλάξας τοὺς ἐτησίας ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα, ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἥνικ' ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ <sup>4</sup> δυναίμεθα ἐκείσε ἀφικέσθαι. 32. Δεῖ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἐνθυμουμένους μὴ  
 15 βοηθείαις πολεμεῖν (ὕστεριουμέν γὰρ ἀπάντων), ἀλλὰ παρασκευῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει. Ὑπάρχει δ' ὑμῖν χειμαδίῳ μὲν χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει Δήμῳ καὶ Θάσῳ καὶ Σκιιάθῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ νήσοις, ἐν αἷς καὶ λιμένες καὶ σῖτος καὶ ἡ χρὴ στρατεύματι πάνθ'  
 20 ὑπάρχει, τὴν δ' ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι ῥάδιον καὶ τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀσφαλές, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τῶν ἐμπορίων στόμασι ῥαδίως ἔσται.

<sup>1</sup> χειροτονήσετε Σ. Β. & S. χειροτονήσατε Bk.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν τοῖς Voem. [ἐν] τοῖς Bk.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν ταῖς Σ. ταῖς Bk.

<sup>4</sup> δυναίμεθα Σ. Β. & S. δυναίμεθ' Voem.

33. Ἡ μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, παρὰ  
τὸν καιρὸν ὁ τούτων κύριος καταστάς ὑφ' ὑμῶν βουλευ-  
σεται, ἃ δ' ὑπάρξαι δεῖ παρ' ὑμῶν, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ἐγὼ  
γέγραφα. Ἄν ταῦτα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πορίσητε τὰ  
χρήματα πρῶτον, ἃ λέγω, εἴτα καὶ τᾶλλα παρασκευά- 5  
σαντες, τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὰς τριήρεις, τοὺς ἵππείας,  
ἐντελῇ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν νόμῳ κατακλείσητ' ἐπὶ τῷ  
πολέμῳ μένειν, τῶν μὲν χρημάτων αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ  
πορισταὶ γιγνόμενοι, τῶν δὲ πράξεων παρὰ τοῦ στρα-  
τηγοῦ τὸν λόγον ζητοῦντες, παύσεσθ' ἀεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐ- 10  
τῶν βουλευόμενοι καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες, 34. καὶ  
ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ πρῶτον μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν  
μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνου πόρων ἀφαιρήσεσθε. Ἔστι δ'  
οὗτος τίς; ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑμῖν πολεμεῖ συμμάχων,  
ἄγων καὶ φέρων τοὺς πλείοντας τὴν θάλατταν. Ἐπειτα 15  
τί πρὸς τούτῳ; τοῦ πᾶσχειν αὐτοὶ κακῶς ἔξω γενήσεσθε,  
οὐχ ὥσπερ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον εἰς Αἴηνον καὶ Ἴμ-  
βρον ἐμβαλὼν αἰχμαλώτους πολίτας ὑμετέρους ᾤχετ'  
ἔχων, καὶ πρὸς τῷ Γεραιστῷ τὰ πλοῖα συλλαβὼν ἀμύ-  
θητα χρήματ' ἐξέλεξε, τὰ τελευταῖα δ' εἰς Μαραθῶνα 20  
ἀπέβη καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ᾤχετ' ἔχων τριήρη.  
Ἑμεῖς δ' οὔτε ταῦτα <sup>1</sup>δύνασθε κωλύειν οὔτ' εἰς τοὺς  
χρόνους, οὓς ἂν προθῆσθε, βοηθεῖν. 35. Καίτοι τί δὴ  
πετε, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζετε τὴν μὲν τῶν Πανα-

<sup>1</sup> δύνασθε Σ. Υ. Ω. Α'. Β. & S. ἡδύνασθε Bk.



θηναίων ἐορτὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων ἀεὶ τοῦ καθή-  
 κοντος χρόνου γίγνεσθαι, ἅν τε δεινοὶ λάχουσιν ἅν τ'  
 ἰδιῶται, οἱ τούτων ἐκατέρων ἐπιμελούμενοι, εἰς ἃ το-  
 σαῦτ' <sup>1</sup> ἀναλίσκεται χρήματα, ὅς' οὐδ' εἰς ἓνα τῶν  
 Ε ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον καὶ <sup>2</sup> παρασκευὴν, ὅσην  
 οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι τῶν ἀπάντων, ἔχει, τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους  
 πάντας ὑμῖν ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, τὸν εἰς Μεθώνην,  
 τὸν εἰς Παγασάς, τὸν εἰς Ποτίδαιαν; 36. "Ὅτι ἐκεῖνα  
 μὲν ἅπαντα νόμῳ τέτακται, καὶ πρόοιδεν ἕκαστος ὑμῶν  
 10 ἐκ πολλοῦ τίς χορηγὸς ἢ γυμνασίάρχος τῆς φυλῆς πότε  
 καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τί λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀνεξέ-  
 ταστον οὐδ' ἀόριστον ἐν τούτοις ἡμέλῃται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς  
 περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῇ τούτου παρασκευῇ ἄτακτα  
 ἀδιόρθωτα ἀόρισθ' ἅπαντα. Τοιγαροῦν ἅμ' ἀκηκόαμέν  
 15 τι, καὶ τριηράρχους καθίσταμεν καὶ τούτοις ἀντιδόσεις  
 ποιούμεθα καὶ περὶ χρημάτων πόρου σκοποῦμεν, καὶ  
 μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐμβαίνειν τοὺς μετοίκους ἔδοξε καὶ τοὺς  
 χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας, εἴτ' αὐτοὺς πάλιν, <sup>3</sup> εἴτ' ἀντεμβιβάζ-  
 ζειν, εἴτ' ἐν ὅσῳ ταῦτα <sup>4</sup> μέλλεται, προαπόλωλε <sup>5</sup> τὸ ἐφ'  
 20 ὃ ἂν ἐκπλέωμεν. 37. Τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πράττειν χρόνον εἰς  
 τὸ παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀναλίσκομεν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων  
 οὐ μένουσι καιροὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ εἰρω-

<sup>1</sup> ἀναλίσκεται Σ. Α'. Η. Β. & S. ἀναλίσκετε Bk.

<sup>2</sup> παρασκευὴν Σ. Α'. Υ. τοσαύτην παρασκ. Bk.

<sup>3</sup> εἴτ' ἀντεμβιβάζειν Σ. εἴτ' rej. Bk.

<sup>4</sup> μέλλεται Σ. Β. & S. μέλλετε Bk.

<sup>5</sup> τὸ ἐφ' ὃ Σ. Β. & S. ἐφ' ἃ Bk.

νείαν. Ἄς δὲ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον δυνάμεις οἰόμεθ' ἡμῖν  
 ὑπάρχειν, οὐδὲν οἶαί τ' οὔσαι ποιεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν  
 καιρῶν ἐξελέγχονται. Ὁ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ὕβρεως ἐλίλυ-  
 θεν ὥστ' ἐπιστέλλειν Εὐβοεῦσιν ἥδη τοιαύτας ἐπι-  
 στολάς.

5

## ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

33. Τούτων, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων  
 ἀληθῆ μέν ἐστι τὰ πολλά, ὅς οὐκ ἔδει, οὐ μὲν ἀλλ'  
 ἴσως οὐχ ἡδέα ἀκούειν. Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν, <sup>2</sup> ἂ ἄν τις ὑπερβῇ  
 τῷ λόγῳ, ἵνα μὴ λυπήσῃ, καὶ τὰ πράγμαθ' ὑπερβίβη- 10  
 ται, δεῖ πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγορεῖν. Εἰ δ' ἡ τῶν λόγων  
 χάρις, ἂν ἡ μὴ προσήκουσα, ἔργῳ ζημία γίνεται,  
 αἰσχρὸν ἐστι, [ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,] φενακίζειν ἑαυτούς,  
 καὶ ἅπαντ' ἀναβαλλομένους ἂν ἡ δυσχερὴ πάντων  
 ὑστερεῖν τῶν ἔργων, 33. καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτο δύνασθαι μα- 15  
 θεῖν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς πολέμῳ χρωμένους οὐκ ἀκο-  
 λουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἔμπροσθεν εἶναι  
 τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τῶν  
 στρατευμάτων ἀξιώσειέ <sup>3</sup> τις ἂν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡγεί-  
 σθαι, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς <sup>4</sup> βουλευομένους, 20  
<sup>5</sup> ἵν' ἂ ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ, ταῦτα πράττηται καὶ μὴ τὰ  
 συμβάντ' ἀναγκάζονται διώκειν. 40. Ὅτι δέ, ὧ ἄν-

<sup>1</sup> ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ Bk. B. & S. ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΙΣ Voem.

<sup>2</sup> ἂ ἄν Σ. ὅσα ἂν Bk. ὅσ' ἄν Voem.

<sup>3</sup> τις ἂν Σ. Υ. Γ. Β. & S. ἄν τις Bk.

<sup>4</sup> βουλευομένους B. & S. εὖ βουλ. Bk.

<sup>5</sup> ἵν' ἂ ἂν Bk. B. & S. ἵν' ἂν Vocm.

δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλείστην δύναμιν ἀπάντων ἔχοντες, τριήρεις, ὀπλίτας, ἱππέας, χρημάτων πρόσδοον, τούτων μὲν μέχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας οὐδενὶ πώποτ' <sup>1</sup> εἰς δέον τι κέχρησθε, <sup>2</sup> οὐδενὸς δ' <sup>3</sup> ἀπολείπεσθε, <sup>4</sup> ὥσπερ οἱ βάρ-  
5 βαροι πυκτεύουσιν, οὕτω <sup>5</sup> πολεμεῖν Φιλίππῳ. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ὁ πληγεὶς ἀεὶ τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται, κὰν ἐτέρωσε <sup>6</sup> πατάξης, ἐκεῖσέ' εἰσιν αἱ χεῖρες. Προβάλλεσθαι δ' ἢ βλέπειν ἐναντίον οὐτ' οἶδεν οὐτ' ἐθέλει. 41. Καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν ἐν Χερρόνῃσῳ πύθησθε Φίλιππον, ἐκείσε  
10 βοηθεῖν ψηφίζεσθε, ἐὰν ἐν Πύλαις, ἐκείσε, ἐὰν ἄλλοθί <sup>7</sup> που, συμπαραθεῖτ' <sup>8</sup> ἄνω κάτω, καὶ στρατηγείσθε μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, βεβούλευσθε δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς συμφέρον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων προορᾶτ' οὐδέν, πρὶν ἂν ἢ γεγεννημένον ἢ γιγνόμενόν τι πύθησθε. Ταῦ-  
15 τα δ' ἴσως πρότερον μὲν ἐνῆν, νῦν δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἵκει τὴν ἀκμήν, ὥστ' οὐκέτ' ἐγχωρεῖ. 42. Δοκεῖ δέ μοι θεῶν τις, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς γιγνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως αἰσχυρόμενος τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην ταύτην ἐμβαλεῖν Φιλίππῳ. Εἰ γὰρ ἔχων ἂ κατέστραπται καὶ  
20 προεῖληφεν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἥθελε καὶ μηδὲν ἔπραττεν

<sup>1</sup> εἰς δέον τι Σ. F. ἐν δέοντι Bk.

<sup>2</sup> οὐδενὸς δ' Bk. οὐδὲν δ' Saup.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπολείπεσθε Bk. ἀπολείπετε Σ. B. & S. Saup.

<sup>4</sup> ὥσπερ Σ. Saup. ὥσπερ δὲ Bk. ὥσπερ θ' Voem.

<sup>5</sup> πολεμεῖν Σ. B. & S. Saup. πολεμεῖτε Bk. Voem.

<sup>6</sup> πατάξης Σ. πατάξη τις Bk.

<sup>7</sup> που Bk. B. & S. ποι Σ.

<sup>8</sup> ἄνω κάτω Σ. Bk. ἄνω καὶ κάτω Voem.

ἔτι, ἀποχρῆν ἐνίοις ὑμῶν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ, ἐξ ὧν αἰσχύνην  
καὶ ἀνανδρείαν καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχιστ' ὠφληκότες ἂν  
ἦμεν δημοσίᾳ. Νῦν δ' ἐπιχειρᾶν ἀεὶ τινι καὶ τοῦ  
πλείονος ὀρεγόμενος ἴσως ἂν ἐκκαλέσαιθ' ὑμᾶς, εἴπερ  
μὴ παντάπασιν ἄπεγνώκατε. 43. Θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε, 5  
εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν μήτ' ἐνθυμεῖται μήτ' ὀργίζεται, ὁρῶν, ὃ  
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου γεγεννη-  
μένην περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι Φίλιππον, τὴν δὲ τελευ-  
τὴν εἶσαν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπὸ Φιλίπ-  
που. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι γ' οὐ στήσεται, δῆλον, εἰ μὴ τις 10  
κωλύσει. Εἴτα τοῦτ' ἀναμενούμεν, καὶ τριήρεις κενὰς  
καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δαΐμονος ἐλπίδας ἐὰν ἀποστείλητε,  
πάντ' ἔχειν οἴεσθε καλῶς; 44. Οὐκ ἐμβησόμεθα; οὐκ  
ἔξιμεν αὐτοῖς μέρει γέ τινι στρατιωτῶν οἰκείων νῦν, εἰ  
καὶ μὴ πρότερον; οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου <sup>3</sup> πλευσόμεθα; 15  
“Ποῖ οὖν προστῆμιούμεθα;” ἤρετό τις. Εὐρήσει τὰ  
σαθρὰ, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων αὐ-  
τὸς ὁ πόλεμος, ἂν ἐπιχειρῶμεν. Ἄν μέντοι καθώμεθ'  
οἴκοι, λαιδορουμένων ἀκούοντες καὶ αἰτιωμένων ἀλλή-  
λους τῶν λεγόντων, οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲν ἡμῖν <sup>4</sup> [οὐ] μὴ γέ- 20  
νηται τῶν δεόντων. 45. “Οποῖ μὲν γὰρ ἂν, οἶμαι, μέρος  
τι τῆς πόλεως συναποσταλῇ, καὶ μὴ <sup>5</sup> πᾶσα, καὶ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> ἄπεγνώκατε Σ. Bk. ἐαυτῶν ἀπεγνώκατε F. γ. vulg.

<sup>2</sup> κωλύσει Bk. κωλύσει Σ. κωλύσοι H. αὐτὸν κωλύσει γ. Ω.

<sup>3</sup> πλευσόμεθα Σ. B. & S. πλευσούμεθα Bk. Voem.

<sup>4</sup> [οὐ] μὴ. μὴ γ. οὐ μὴ Bk. Voem.

<sup>5</sup> πᾶσα Σ. B. & S. πᾶσα παρῇ Bk. Voem.



τῶν θεῶν εὐμενῆς καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν συναγωνίζεται.  
 "Οποῖ δ' ἂν στρατηγὸν καὶ ψήφισμα κεῖν καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας ἐκπέμψητε, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν τῶν δεόν-  
 των γίγνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ καταγελωσιν, οἱ δὲ  
 5 σύμμαχοι τεθνήσκει τῷ δέει τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστόλους.  
 46. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἓν ἄνδρα <sup>2</sup> ἂν δυνηθῆναί  
 ποτε ταῦθ' ὑμῖν πράξαι πάνθ' ὅσα βούλεσθε. Ὑπο-  
 σχέσθαι μέντοι καὶ φῆσαι καὶ τὸν δεῖν αἰτιάσασθαι  
 καὶ τὸν δεῖνα, ἔστιν. Τὰ δὲ πράγματ' ἐκ τούτων ἀπό-  
 10 λωλεν. "Οταν γὰρ ἡγήται μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων  
 ἀπομίσθων ξένων, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἐκεῖνος <sup>3</sup> πράξη  
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ψευδόμενοι ῥαδίως ἐνθάδ' ὦσιν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξ  
 ὧν <sup>4</sup> ἂν ἀκούσητε, ὅ τι ἂν τύχητε, ψηφίσησθε, τί καὶ  
 χρὴ προσδοκᾶν;  
 15 47. Πῶς οὖν ταῦτα παύσεται; ὅταν ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξητε στρατιώτας καὶ μάρ-  
 τυρας τῶν στρατηγουμένων καὶ δικαστὰς οἵκαδ' ἐλθόν-  
 τας τῶν εὐθυνῶν, ὥστε μὴ ἀκούειν μόνον ὑμᾶς τὰ ὑμέ-  
 τερ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρόντας ὁρᾶν. Νῦν δ' εἰς τοῦθ'  
 20 ἥκει τὰ πράγματα αἰσχύνης, ὥστε τῶν στρατηγῶν  
 ἕκαστος δις καὶ τρίς κρίνεται παρ' ὑμῖν περὶ θανάτου,  
 πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς εὐδείς οὐδὲ ἅπαξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνί-  
 σασθαι περὶ θανάτου τολμᾷ, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν ἀνδρα-

<sup>1</sup> ἡμῖν συναγωνίζεται Bk. ἡμῖν om. Σ.

<sup>2</sup> ἂν δυνηθῆναι Ω. δυνηθῆναι Bk. Voem. B. & S.

<sup>3</sup> πράξη Σ. B. & S. ἐκεῖ πράξη Bk.

<sup>4</sup> ἂν ἀκούσητε Bk. ἂν om. Σ.

ποδιστῶν καὶ λωποδυτῶν θάνατον μᾶλλον αἰροῦνται  
τοῦ προσήκοντος. Κακούργου μὲν γάρ ἐστι κριθέντ'  
ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ μαχόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις.  
48. <sup>1</sup>Ἡμῶν δ' οἱ μὲν περιούντες μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων  
φασὶ Φίλιππον πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν καὶ 5  
τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν, οἱ δ' ὡς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν  
ὡς βασιλέα, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλεις τειχίζειν, οἱ δὲ  
λόγους πλάττοντες ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα. 49. Ἐγὼ  
δ' οἶμαι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νῆ τούς θεοὺς ἐκείνον  
μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦ- 10  
τα ὀνειροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, τὴν τ' ἐρημίαν τῶν κωλυ-  
σόντων ὁρῶντα καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπηρμένον, οὐ  
μύντοι γε μὰ Δί' οὕτω προαιρεῖσθαι πράττειν, ὥστε  
τούς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εἰδέναί, τί μέλλει  
ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος. Ἀνοητότατοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ λογοποιοῖ- 15  
οῦντες. 50. Ἀλλ' εὖν ἀφέντες ταῦτ' ἐκεῖν' εἰδῶμεν,  
ὅτι ἐχθρὸς <sup>2</sup>ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερ' ἡμᾶς ἀποστερεῖ  
καὶ χρόνον πολὺν ὕβρικε, καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα πώποτ'  
ἠλπίσασμέν τινα πράξειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν εὕρη-  
ται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἐστί, καὶ μὴ νῦν 20  
ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐνθὶδ' ἴσως ἀναγκασθη-  
σόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἂν ταῦτ' εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντ'  
ἐσόμεθ' ἐγνωκότες καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι.  
Οὐ γὰρ ἅττα ποτ' ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλ',

<sup>1</sup> Ἡμῶν Σ. Β. & Σ. <sup>ὑ</sup> ἡμῶν Υ. ἰμῶν Βκ.

<sup>2</sup> ἄνθρωπος Βκ.

ἐὰν μὴ προσέχητε [τοῖς πράγμασι] τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητ', εὖ εἰδέναι.

51. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτ' ἄλλοτε πώποτε πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην λέγειν, ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καὶ <sup>1</sup>συννοίσειν πεπεισμένος ὦ, νῦν θ' ἂ γιγνώσκω πάνθ' ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, πεπαρρῆσίεσμαι. Ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν, ὥσπερ ὅτι ὑμῖν συμφέρει τὰ βέλτιστ' ἀκούειν οἶδα, οὕτως εἰδέναι <sup>2</sup>συννοῖσον καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτιστ' εἰπόντι· πολλῷ γὰρ ἂν ἥδιον <sup>3</sup>εἶπον. Νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἀδήλοισι οὖσι  
10 τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων ἑμαυτῷ γενησομένοις, ὅμως ἐπὶ τῷ συννοίσειν ὑμῖν, ἐὰν πράξητε, ταῦτα πεπεῖσθαι λέγειν αἰροῦμαι. Νικῶν δ' ὅ τι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν μέλλει συννοίσειν.

<sup>1</sup> συννοίσειν Σ. Β. & S. συννοίσειν ὑμῖν Bk. Voem.

<sup>2</sup> συννοῖσον Bk. συννοίσων Σ.

<sup>3</sup> εἶπον Bk. B. & S. εἶχον Σ.

# ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

## Ο ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β΄.

### ΔΙΒΑΝΙΟΥ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

1. Παραινεί διὰ τούτου τοῦ λόγου τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ ῥήτωρ πολέμιον ὑποπτεύειν τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ μὴ πάνυ πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐγείρεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ εὐτρεπίζεσθαι πρὸς πόλεμον. Ἐπιβουλεύειν γὰρ αἰτιάται καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ καταμαρτυρεῖν τὰς 5 πράξεις\* φησίν. Ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίσεις δώσειν πρὸς τινὰς πρέσβεις ἡκοντας, ἀπορούντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὃ τί ποτε ἀποκρίνασθαι δεῖ. 2. Πόθεν δὲ οὗτοι καὶ περὶ τίνων ἡκούσιν, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ μὲν οὐ δηλοῦται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ἱστοριῶν μαθεῖν δυνατόν. Κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις ὁ Φίλιππος πρὸς 10 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, αἰτιώμενος ὅτι διαβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν μάτην πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὥς ἐπαγγειλάμενον αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ψευδόμενον δέ. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑπεσχησθαί φησιν οὐδὲ ἐψεύσθαι, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐλέγχους ἀπαιτεῖ. Ἐπεμψαν δὲ μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μεσσήνιοι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἀθήνας, αἰτιώμενοι καὶ οὗτοι τὸν δῆμον ὅτι 15 Λακεδαιμονίοις καταδουλουμένοις τὴν Πελοπόννησον εἵνους τέ ἐστι καὶ συγκροτεῖ, αὐτοῖς δὲ περὶ ἐλευθερίας πολεμοῦσιν ἰναντιοῦται. 3. Ἀποροῦσιν οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκρίσεως



καὶ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι εὖνοι μὲν εἰσι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὴν τῶν  
 Ἀργείων καὶ Μεσσηνίων μετὰ Φιλίππου σύστασιν καὶ μισοῦσι καὶ  
 ὑποπτεύουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀποφίνασθαι δύνανται δίκαια πράττειν τοὺς  
 Λακεδαιμονίους. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον διημαρτήκασιν μὲν ὧν ἡλι-  
 5 σαν, οὐ μὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου γε αὐτοῦ δοκοῦσιν ἐξηπατῆσθαι. Οὔτε γὰρ  
 ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνέγραψεν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπαγγελίαν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε διὰ  
 τῶν ἰδίων πρέσβεων ἐποίησά τοινα ὑπόσχεσιν, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίων τινὲς  
 ἦσαν οἱ τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐλπίδα καταστήσαντες, ὥς Φίλιππος Φωκέας  
 σώσει καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων ὕβριν καταλύσει. 4. Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Δημοσθέ-  
 10 νης τῶν ἀποκρίσεων μνησθεὶς ἐπαγγέλλεται μὲν αὐτὰς δώσειν, φησὶ  
 δὲ ὅτι δίκαιον ἦν τοὺς τὴν δυσχέριαν πεποιηκότας ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς  
 ἀποκρίσεις ἀπαιτεῖσθαι, τοὺς ἀπατήσαντας, φησί, τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἀνοί-  
 ξαντας Φιλίππῳ Πύλας. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸν Αἰσχίνην αἰνίττεται, προ-  
 κατασκευαζόμενος, ὥς φασί, τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν τῆς παρα-  
 15 πρεσβείας, ἣν ὕστερον ἐνεστήσατο, καὶ προδιαβάλλων αὐτὸν πρὸς  
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

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1. "Οταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίνωνται περὶ  
 ὧν Φίλιππος πράττει καὶ βιάζεται παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην,  
 αἰεὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λόγους καὶ δικαίους καὶ φιλανθρώ-  
 20 πους ὁρῶ φαινομένους καὶ λέγειν μὲν ἅπαντας αἰεὶ τὰ  
 δεόντα δοκοῦντας τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας Φιλίππου, γιγνώ-  
 μενον δ' οὐδὲν, <sup>1</sup> ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τῶν δεόντων οὐδ' ὧν  
 ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἀκούειν ἄξιον. 2. Ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἦδη

<sup>1</sup> ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν Bk. B. & S. ὥς ἔπος Σ.

προηγμένα τυγχάνει πάντα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει, ὥσθ' ὅσῳ τις ἂν μᾶλλον καὶ φανερώτερον ἐξελέγχῃ Φίλιππον καὶ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην παραβαίνοντα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπιβουλεύοντα, τοσούτῳ τὸ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν συμβουλευσαί <sup>1</sup> χαλεπώτερον εἶναι. 3. Αἴτιον δὲ 5 τούτων, ὅτι <sup>2</sup> πάντες, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦντας ἔργῳ κωλύειν καὶ πράξεσιν, οὐχὶ λόγοις δέον, πρῶτον μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες τούτων μὲν ἀφέσταμεν, καὶ γράφειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν <sup>3</sup> διὰ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν ὀκνοῦντες, οἷα ποιεῖ δέ, ὡς δεινὰ καὶ 10 χαλεπά, καὶ τοιαῦτα, διεξερχόμεθα. Ἐπειθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι, ὡς μὲν ἂν εἴποιτε δικαίους λόγους καὶ λέγοντος ἄλλου <sup>4</sup> συνείητε, ἄμεινον Φιλίππου παρεσκεύασθε, ὡς δὲ κωλύσαιτ' ἂν ἐκείνον πράττειν ταῦτα ἐφ' ὧν ἐστὶ νῦν, παντελῶς ἀργῶς ἔχετε. 4. Συμβαίνει δὲ 15 πρᾶγμα ἀναγκαῖον, οἶμαι, καὶ ἴσως εἰκός· ἐν οἷς ἑκάτεροι διατρίβετε καὶ περὶ ἃ σπουδάζετε, ταῦτ' ἄμεινον ἑκατέρους <sup>5</sup> ἔχειν, ἐκείνῳ μὲν αἱ πράξεις, ὑμῖν δ' οἱ λόγοι. 5. Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν λέγειν δικαιοτέρα ὑμῖν ἐξαρκεῖ, ῥάδιον, καὶ πόνος οὐδεὶς πρόσσεστι τῷ πράγματι. Εἰ δ' 20 ὅπως τὰ παρόντ' ἐπανορθωθήσεται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, καὶ μὴ προελθόντα ἔτι πορρώτέρῳ λήσει πάνθ' ἡμᾶς, μηδ' ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> χαλεπώτερον εἶναι Bk. χαλεπώτερον pr. Σ. B. & S.

<sup>2</sup> πάντες pr. Σ. B. & S. πάντας Bk.

<sup>3</sup> διὰ τὴν Bk. διὰ om. Σ. Voem. Saup.

<sup>4</sup> συνείητε Α'. Bk. B. & S. συνίητε Σ.

<sup>5</sup> ἔχει Bk. ἔχειν Σ. et omnes fere codd. B. & S.

στήσεται μέγεθος δυνάμεως πρὸς ἣν οὐδ' ἀντᾶραι δυνη-  
 σόμεθα, οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος ὅσπερ πρότερον τοῦ βου-  
 λεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λέγουσιν ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς ἀκού-  
 ουσιν ὑμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ τὰ σώσουντ' ἀντὶ τῶν ῥά-  
 5 στων καὶ τῶν ἡδίστων προαιρετέον.

6. Πρῶτον <sup>1</sup> μὲν, εἴ τις, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θαρρεῖ  
 ὁρῶν ἡλίκος ἤδη καὶ ὅσων κύριός ἐστι Φίλιππος, καὶ  
 μηδένα οἶεται κίνδυνον φέρειν τοῦτο τῇ πόλει μηδ' ἐφ'  
 ὑμᾶς <sup>2</sup> πάντα παρασκευάζεσθαι, θαυμάζω, καὶ δεηθῆναι  
 10 πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν βούλομαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀκούσαί  
 μου διὰ βραχέων, δι' οὓς τάναντία ἐμοὶ παρέστηκε  
 προσδοκᾶν καὶ δι' ὧν ἐχθρὸν ἡγούμαι Φίλιππον, ἵν',  
 εἰ μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ βέλτιον τῶν ἄλλων προορᾶν, ἐμοὶ  
 πεισθῇτε. Ἐὰν δ' οἱ θαρρόντες καὶ πεπιστευκότες  
 15 αὐτῷ, τούτοις <sup>3</sup> προσθήσεσθε. 7. Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὧ ἄν-  
 δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λογίζομαι, τίνων ὁ Φίλιππος κύριος  
 πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην κατέστη; Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν  
 ἐν Φωκεύσι πραγμάτων. Τί οὖν; πῶς τούτοις ἐχρή-  
 σατο; ἂ Ὀθηβαίοις συμφέρει καὶ οὐχ ἂ τῇ πόλει,  
 20 πράττειν προείλετο. Τί δὴ ποτε; ὅτι πρὸς πλεονε-  
 ξίαν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ πάνθ' ὑφ' ἐαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι τοὺς  
 λογισμοὺς ἐξετάζων, καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην οὐδ' ἡσυ-  
 χίαν οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδέν, 8. εἶδε τοῦτ' ὀρθῶς, ὅτι τῇ μὲν

<sup>1</sup> μὲν Σ. Β. & S. μὲν οὖν Bk. Voem.

<sup>2</sup> πάντα Bk. B. & S. πάντα ταῦτα Voem.

<sup>3</sup> προσθήσεσθε Σ. Β. & S. προσθήσθε Bk.

ἡμετέρα πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς <sup>1</sup> ἡμετέροις οὐδὲν ἂν  
 εἰδείξαιτο <sup>2</sup> τοσοῦτον οὐδὲ ποιήσειεν, ὅφ' οὗ πεισθέντες  
 ὑμεῖς τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκ' ὠφελείας τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς Ἑλλή-  
 νων ἐκείνω <sup>3</sup> πρόοισθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ποι-  
 ούμενοι, καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀδοξίαν τῷ πράγματι φεύ- 5  
 γοντες, καὶ πάνθ' ἃ προσίκει προορώμενοι, ὁμοίως ἐναν-  
 τιώσεσθε, ἂν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπιχειρῇ πράττειν, ὥσπερ ἂν  
 εἰ πολεμοῦντες τύχοιτε. 9. Τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίους ἡγεῖτο,  
 ὅπερ συνέβη, ἀντὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων τὰ λοιπὰ  
 εἴσειν ὅπως βούλεται πράττειν ἑαυτόν, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως 10  
 ἀντιπράξειν καὶ διακωλύσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συστρατεύσειν,  
 ἂν αὐτοὺς κελεύῃ. Καὶ νῦν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς  
 Ἀργεῖους ταῦτα ὑπειληφὼς εὖ <sup>4</sup> ἐποίει. 10. Ὁ καὶ μέ-  
 γιστόν ἐστι καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι·  
 κέκρισθε γὰρ ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων μόνοι τῶν πάντων 15  
 μηδεὶνδ' ἂν κέρδους τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων προ-  
 ἔσθαι, μηδ' ἀνταλλάξασθαι μηδεμιᾶς χάριτος μηδ'  
 ὠφελείας τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὐνοίαν. Καὶ ταῦτ'  
 εἰκότως καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν οὕτως ὑπέιληφε καὶ κατ' Ἀρ-  
 γείων καὶ Θηβαίων ὥς ἐτέρως, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ παρόντα 20  
 ὁρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτων λογιζόμενος. 11. Εὐρί-  
 σκει γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ ἀκούει τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους προγό-  
 νους, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρχειν Ἑλλήνων ὥστ'

<sup>1</sup> ἡμετέροις Bk. B. & S. ὑμετέροις Σ.

<sup>2</sup> τοιοῦτον Bk. τοσοῦτον Σ. B. & S.

<sup>3</sup> πρόοισθε F. Σ. Υ. Β. Η. προεῖσθε Bk. Voem. Saur. Rued.

<sup>4</sup> ἐποίει Σ. B. & S. ποιεί Bk.



αὐτοὺς ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀνασχομένους  
τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἤνικ' ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τούτων  
πρόγονος περὶ τούτων κήρυξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκλι-  
πεῖν προελομένους καὶ παθεῖν ὅτιοῦν ὑπομείναντας, καὶ  
5 μετὰ ταῦτα πράξαντας ταῦθ' ἃ <sup>1</sup>πάντες ἀεὶ γλίσχονται  
λέγειν, ἀξίως δ' οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται, διόπερ καὶ γὰρ  
παραλείψω δικαίως (ἔστι γὰρ <sup>2</sup>μείζονα τὰ κείνων ἔργα  
ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τις ἂν εἴποι), τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀρ-  
γείων προγόνους τοὺς μὲν συστρατεύσαντας τῷ βαρβά-  
10 ρῳ, τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντας. 12. Οἶδεν οὖν ἀμφοτέ-  
ρους ἰδίᾳ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ἀγαπήσοντας, οὐχ ὅτι συνοίσει  
κοινῇ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι σκεψομένους. Ἡγεῖτ' οὖν, εἰ μὲν  
ὑμᾶς ἔλοιτο φίλους, ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις αἰρήσεσθαι, εἰ δ'  
ἐκείνοις προσθεῖτο, συνεργοὺς ἔξειν τῆς αὐτοῦ πλεονε-  
15 ξίας. Διὰ ταῦτ' ἐκείνους ἀνθ' ὑμῶν καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν  
αἰρεῖται. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τριήρεις γε ὁρᾷ πλείους αὐτοῖς  
<sup>3</sup>ἢ ὑμῖν οὔσας, οὐδ' <sup>4</sup>ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ τιν' ἀρχὴν εὔρηκε,  
τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων ἀφέστηκεν,  
οὐδ' ἀμνημονεῖ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ'  
20 αἷς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχεν.

13. Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δί', εἴποι τις ἂν ὡς πάντα ταῦτ' εἰδώς,  
οὐ πλεονεξίας ἔνεκεν οὐδ' ὧν ἐγὼ κατηγορῶ τότε ταῦτ'  
ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δικαιοτέρα τοὺς Θηβαίους ἢ ὑμᾶς

<sup>1</sup> πάντες Σ. Β. & S. πάντες μὲν Bk.

<sup>2</sup> μείζονα Σ. Β. & S. μείζω Bk.

<sup>3</sup> ἢ ὑμῖν οὔσας Σ. Bk. ἢ ὑμῖν ἐνούσας cet. codd. Voem.

<sup>4</sup> ἐν Σ. Υ. Β. & S. ἐν μὲν Bk. Voem.

ἀξιοῦν. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ μόνον πάντων τῶν λόγων οὐκ ἔνεστιν αὐτῷ νῦν εἰπεῖν. Ὁ γὰρ Μεσσήνην Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφιέναι κελεύων, πῶς ἂν Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν τότε Θηβαίοις παραδούς τῷ δίκαια νομίζειν ταῦτ' εἶναι πεποιηκέναι σκήψαιτο ;

5

14. Ἀλλ' ἐβιάσθη νῆ Δία (τοῦτο γάρ ἐσθ' ὑπόλοιπον) καὶ παρὰ γνώμην, τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων ὀπλιτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ληφθεὶς, συνεχώρησε ταῦτα. Καλῶς. Οὐκοῦν φασὶ μὲν μέλλειν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους αὐτὸν ὑπόπτως ἔχειν, καὶ λογοποιοῦσι περιούτους 10 τινές, ὥς Ἐλάτειαν τειχιεῖ. 15. Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν μέλλει καὶ <sup>1</sup>μελλήσει, ὥς ἐγὼ κρίνω, τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους <sup>2</sup>συμβάλλειν οὐ μέλλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλει καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχων αὐτός ἐστι 15 προσδόκιμος. Τοὺς μὲν ὄντας ἐχθροὺς Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναιρεῖ, οὓς δ' ἀπώλεσεν αὐτὸς πρότερον Φωκέας νῦν σώζει ; καὶ τίς ἂν ταῦτα πιστεύσειεν ; 16. Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ <sup>3</sup>οὐδ' ἂν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, οὔτ' εἰ τὰ πρῶτα βιασθεὶς ἄκων ἔπραξεν οὔτ' ἂν εἰ νῦν ἀπε- 20 γίγνωσκε Θηβαίους, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχθροῖς συνεχῶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν νῦν ποιεῖ, καὶ κείνα ἐκ προαιρέσεως δηλὸς ἐστι ποιήσας, ἐκ πάντων δ' ἂν τις ὀρθῶς

<sup>1</sup> μελλήσει Σ. Β. & S. μελλήσει γε Bk. Voem.

<sup>2</sup> συμβάλλειν Σ. Υ. Bk. Saup. συνεσβάλλειν vulg.

<sup>3</sup> οὐδ' ἂν Σ. Υ. Ω. οὐκ ἂν Bk.

- <sup>1</sup> θεωρῇ, πάντα πραγματεύεται, κατὰ τῆς πόλεως συν-  
τάττων. 17. Καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρόπον τιν' αὐτῷ  
νῦν γε δὴ συμβαίνει. Λογίξεσθε γάρ. Ἄρχειν βού-  
λεται, τούτου δ' ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνους ὑπέιληφέν ὑμᾶς.
- 5 Ἀδικεῖ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἄριστα σύν-  
οιδεν ἑαυτῷ. Οἷς γὰρ οὖσιν ὑμετέροις ἔχει, τούτοις  
πάντα τὰλλα ἀσφαλῶς κέκτῃται. Εἰ γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν  
καὶ Ποτίδαιαν προεῖτο, οὐδ' ἂν οἴκοι μένειν βεβαίως  
ἡγείτο. 18. Ἀμφοτέρα οὖν οἶδε, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἐπι-  
10 βουλευόντα καὶ ὑμᾶς αἰσθανομένους. Εὖ φρονεῖν δ'  
ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων, δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸν μισεῖν <sup>2</sup> νομίζοι  
καὶ παρώξυνται, πείσεσθαί τι προσδοκῶν, ἂν καιρὸν  
λάβητε, ἐὰν μὴ φθύσῃ ποιήσας πρότερος. Διὰ ταῦτ'  
ἐγρήγορεν, ἐφέστηκεν ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει, θεραπεύει τινὰς,
- 15 <sup>3</sup> Θηβαίους καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοὺς ταῦτὰ βουλομένους  
τούτοις, 19. οὓς διὰ μὲν πλεονεξίαν τὰ παρόντα ἀγα-  
πήσειν οἶεται, διὰ δὲ σκαιότητα τρόπων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ'  
οὐδὲν προόψεσθαι. Καίτοι σωφρονουσί γε καὶ μετρίως  
ἐναργῇ παραδείγματ' ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἃ καὶ πρὸς Μεσση-  
20 νίους καὶ πρὸς Ἀργεῖους ἔμοιγ' εἰπεῖν συνέβη, βέλτιον  
δ' ἴσως καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν εἰρῇσθαι.
20. Πῶς γὰρ οἶεσθ', ἔφην, ὧ ἄνδρες Μεσσήνιοι, δυσ-  
χερῶς ἀκούειν Ὀλυνθίους, εἴ τίς τι λέγοι κατὰ Φιλίπ-

<sup>1</sup> θεωρῇ Α'. Bk. θεωρεῖ Σ.

<sup>2</sup> νομίζοι Σ. Υ. Ω. Β. & S. νομίζει Bk.

<sup>3</sup> Θηβαίους Σ. Υ. Β. & S. Θηβαίων Bk.

που κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, ὅτ' Ἀνθεμοῦντα μὲν  
αὐτοῖς <sup>1</sup> ἀφίει, ἧς πάντες οἱ πρότερον Μακεδονίας βασι-  
λεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντο, Ποτίδαιαν δ' ἐδίδου τοὺς Ἀθηναίων  
ἀποίκους <sup>2</sup> ἐκβύλλων, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς  
ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀνῆρhto, τὴν χώραν δ' ἐκείνοις ἐδεδώκει 5  
καρποῦσθαι; ἄρα προσδοκᾶν αὐτοὺς τοιαῦτα πείσεσθαι,  
ἢ λέγοντος ἄν τινος πιστεῦσαι [οἴεσθε]; 21. Ἀλλ'  
ὅμως, ἔφην ἐγώ, μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν καρ-  
πωσάμενοι πολλὴν τῆς ἐαυτῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου στέρονται,  
αἰσχρῶς ἐκπεσόντες, οὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
προδοθέντες ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ πραθέντες. Οὐ γὰρ  
ἀσφαλεῖς ταῖς πολιτείαις αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αὐται  
λίαν ὁμιλῖαι. 22. Τί δ' οἱ Θετταλοί; ἄρ' οἴεσθ',  
ἔφην, ὅτ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε καὶ πάλιν  
Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν ἐδίδου, προσδοκᾶν τὴν καθε- 15  
στῶσαν νῦν δεκαδαρχίαν ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς; ἢ τὸν  
τὴν πυλαίαν ἀποδόντα τοῦτον τὰς ἰδίας <sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν προσό-  
δους παραιρήσεσθαι; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. Ἀλλὰ μὴν  
γέγονε ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ἔστιν εἰδέναι. 23. Ὑμεῖς δ',  
ἔφην ἐγώ, διδόντα μὲν καὶ ὑπισχνούμενον θεωρεῖτε 20  
Φίλιππον, ἐξηπατηκότα δ' ἤδη καὶ παρακεκρουμένον  
ἀπεύχεσθ<sup>4</sup>, <sup>4</sup> εἰ σωφρονεῖτε δὴ, ἰδεῖν. Ἔστι τοίνυν νῆ  
Δί', ἔφην ἐγώ, παντοδαπὰ εὐρημένα ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> ἀφίει Σ. Α<sup>2</sup>. Saur. ἡφίει Bk. Voem.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκβύλλων Σ. Saur. ἐκβαλὼν Bk.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν Saur. αὐτῶν Bk. Voem.

<sup>4</sup> εἰ σωφρονεῖτε δὴ Σ. B. & S. ἂν σωφρονῇτ' Bk.



φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν, οἷον χαρακώματα καὶ τείχη  
καὶ τάφροι καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτα. 24. Καὶ ταῦτα  
μέν ἐστιν ἅπαντα χειροποίητα, καὶ δαπάνης προσδεῖται.  
Ἐν δέ τι κοινὸν ἢ φύσις τῶν εὖ φρονούντων <sup>1</sup> ἐν ἑαυτῇ  
5 κέκτῃται φυλακτήριον, ὃ πᾶσι μὲν ἐστιν ἀγαθὸν καὶ  
σωτήριον, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς πλήθεσι πρὸς τοὺς τυράν-  
νους. Τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; ἀπιστία. Ταύτην φυλίτ-  
τετε, ταύτης ἀντέχεσθε. Ἐὰν ταύτην σώζητε, οὐδὲν  
μὴ δεινὸν πάθητε. 25. Τί ζητεῖτε; ἔφην. “Ἐλευ-  
10 θερίαν.” Εἴτ’ οὐχ ὁράτε Φίλιππον ἀλλοτριωτάτας  
ταύτη καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχοντα; βασιλεὺς γὰρ  
καὶ τύραννος ἅπας ἐχθρὸς ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ νόμοις ἐναν-  
τίος. Οὐ φυλάξεσθ’ <sup>2</sup> ὅπως, ἔφην, μὴ πολέμου ζητοῦν-  
τες ἀπαλλαγῇναι δεσπότην εὕρητε;  
15 26. Ταῦτ’ ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ θορυβοῦντες ὡς  
ὀρθῶς λέγεται, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτέρους λόγους παρὰ τῶν  
πρέσβειων καὶ παρόντος ἐμοῦ καὶ πάλιν <sup>3</sup> ὕστερον ἀκού-  
σαντες, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀποσχίσονται τῆς Φι-  
λίππου φιλίας οὐδ’ ὧν ἐπαγγέλλεται. Καὶ οὐ τοῦτό  
20 ἐστὶν ἄτοπον, εἰ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Πελοποννησίων τινὲς  
παρ’ ἃ τῷ λογισμῷ βέλτισθ’ ὀρώσί τι πράξουσιν,  
27. <sup>4</sup> ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ οἱ καὶ συνιέντες αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἑαυτῇ Bk. ἑαυτῇ Σ.

<sup>2</sup> ὅπως, ἔφην Σ. ἔφην, ὅπως Bk.

<sup>3</sup> ὕστερον ἀκούσαντες Σ. Υ. ὕστερον [ἀκούσαντες] Voem. ὕστερον Bk.

<sup>4</sup> ἀλλ’ Voem. ἀλλ’ [εἰ] Bk. ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ Σ. F. A<sup>2</sup>. Saur. ὑμεῖς Bk.

λεγόντων ἀκούοντες ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύεσθε, ὡς <sup>1</sup> περι-  
τειχίζεσθε, <sup>2</sup> ὥστε μηδὲν ἤδη <sup>3</sup> ποιεῖν, <sup>4</sup> λήσεθ' ὡς ἐμοὶ  
δοκεῖ <sup>5</sup> πάντα ὑπομείναντες. Οὕτως ἡ παραυτίχ' ἰδουὴ  
καὶ ῥαστώνη μείζον ἰσχύει τοῦ ποθ' ὕστερον συνοίσειν  
μέλλοντος.

5

28. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὑμῖν πρακτέων καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐ-  
τοὺς ὕστερον βουλεύσεσθε, ἂν σωφρονήτε, ἃ δὲ νῦν  
ἀποκρινάμενοι τὰ δέοντ' ἂν εἴητ' ἐψηφισμένοι, <sup>6</sup> ταῦτα  
δὴ λέξω; <sup>7</sup> Ἦν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς  
ἐνεγκόντας <sup>7</sup> τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς ἐπείσθητε ποιήσα- 10  
σθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, καλεῖν. 29. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄν ποτε  
ὑπέμεινα πρεσβεύειν, οὔτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς οἶδ' ὅτι ἐπαύσασθε  
πολεμοῦντες, εἰ τοιαῦτα πρῶξιν τυχόντα εἰρήνης Φί-  
λιππου ᾤεσθε. ἀλλ' ἦν πολὺ τούτων ἀφεστηκότα τὰ  
τότε λεγόμενα. Καὶ πάλιν γ' ἐτέρους καλεῖν. Τίνας; 15  
τοὺς, ὅτ' ἐγὼ γεγονυίας ἤδη τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῆς ὑστέ-  
ρας ἡκων πρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους, αἰσθόμενος  
φenaκίζομένην τὴν πόλιν, προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην  
καὶ οὐκ εἶων προέσθαι Πύλας οὐδὲ Φωκέας, 30. λέγον-  
τας ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδωρ πίνων εἰκότως δύστροπος καὶ 20

<sup>1</sup> περιτειχίζεσθε Σ. F. Ω. περιστοιχίζεσθε Bk.

<sup>2</sup> ὥστε Σ. Saup. ὡς ἐκ τοῦ F. Ω. ἐκ τοῦ Bk.

<sup>3</sup> ποιεῖν in litura Σ. Bk. Fr. ποιῆσαι pr. Σ. F. Ω.

<sup>4</sup> λήσεθ' Bk. Saup. λήσεσθ' Σ. Voem.

<sup>5</sup> πάντα Σ. B. & S. πάντα ταῦθ' Bk. πάνθ' Voem.

<sup>6</sup> ταῦτα δὴ Σ. Saup. ταῦτ' ἥδη Bk.

<sup>7</sup> τὰς ὑποσχέσεις Bk. Saup. τὰς om. Σ. Voem.

δύσκολός εἰμί τις ἄνθρωπος, Φίλιππος δ', <sup>1</sup> ὅπερ εὐ-  
 ξαισθ' ἂν ὑμεῖς, ἂν παρέλθῃ, πράξει, καὶ Θεσπιάς μὲν  
 καὶ Πλαταιῶν τειχιεῖ, Θηβαίους δὲ παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως,  
 Χερρόνησον δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέλεσι διορύξει, Εὐβοίαν δὲ  
 5 καὶ τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ἀντ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑμῖν ἀποδώσει.  
 Ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος <sup>2</sup> ἐνταῦθα μνημο-  
 νεύετ' οἷδ' ὅτι ρηθέντα, καίπερ ὄντες οὐ δεινοὶ τοὺς ἀδι-  
 κοῦντας μεμνήσθαι. 31. Καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀσχιστον,  
 καὶ τοῖς <sup>3</sup> ἐκγόνοις πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην  
 10 εἶναι ταύτην ἐψηφίσασθε. Οὕτω τελέως ὑπήχθητε.  
 Τί δὴ ταῦτα νῦν λέγω καὶ καλεῖν φημί δεῖν τούτους ;  
 ἐγὼ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς τάληθῇ μετὰ παρρησίας ἐρῶ πρὸς  
 ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι. 32. Οὐχ ἔν' εἰς λοιδορίαν  
 ἐμπεσὼν ἐμαυτῷ μὲν ἐξ ἴσου λογον παρ' ὑμῖν ποιήσω,  
 15 τοῖς δ' ἐμοὶ προσκρούσασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς <sup>4</sup> καινὴν παράσχω  
 πρόφασιν τοῦ πάλιν τι λαβεῖν παρὰ Φιλίππου, οὐδ'  
 ἵνα <sup>5</sup> ὥς ἄλλως ἀδολεσχῶ. Ἄλλ' οἶμαί ποθ' ὑμᾶς λυ-  
 πήσειν, ἃ Φίλιππος πράττει, μᾶλλον ἢ τανυνί. 33. Τὸ  
 γὰρ πρᾶγμα ὁρῶ προβαῖνον, καὶ οὐχὶ <sup>6</sup> βουλοίμην ἂν  
 20 εἰκάζειν ὀρθῶς, φοβοῦμαι δὲ μὴ λίαν ἐγγὺς ᾗ τοῦτ' ἤδη.

<sup>1</sup> ὅπερ Σ. Ω. Saup. ἅπερ Bk. Voem.

<sup>2</sup> ἐνταῦθα Σ. Saup. ἐνταυθοῖ Bk. cui tamen ἐνταυθα h. l. rectius esse videtur.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκγόνοις Σ. Υ. Α<sup>1</sup>. Saup. ἐγγόνοις Bk. ἐγγόνοις F<sup>κ</sup>

<sup>4</sup> καινὴν Bk. Saup. καὶ νῦν Σ. Υ. Voem.

<sup>5</sup> ὥς ἄλλως Σ. Saup. τὴν ἄλλως Bk.

<sup>6</sup> βουλοίμην Σ. Saup. βουλοίμην μὲν Bk.

“Οταν οὖν μηκέθ’ ὑμῖν ἀμελεῖν ἐξουσία γίγνηται τῶν συμβαινόντων, μηδ’ ἀκούηθ’, ὅτι ταῦτ’ ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἐστίν, ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τοῦ δέινος, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ πάντες ὁράτε καὶ εὖ εἰδῆτε, ὀργίλους καὶ τραχεῖς ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθαι νομίζω.

34. Φοβούμαι δὴ μὴ τῶν πρέσβειων σεσιωπηκότων, ἐφ’ οἷς αὐτοῖς συνίσασι δεδωροδοκηκότες, τοῖς ἐπανορθοῦν τι πειρωμένοις τῶν διὰ τούτους ἀπολωλότων τῇ παρ’ ὑμῶν ὀργῇ περιπεσεῖν συμβῇ. Ὅρῳ γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐνίοις <sup>οὐκ</sup> εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλ’ εἰς τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα μά- λιστα τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφιέντας. 35. Ἔως οὖν ἔτι μέλλει καὶ συνίσταται τὰ πράγματα καὶ κατακούομεν ἀλλή- λων, ἕκαστον ὑμῶν, καίπερ ἀκριβῶς εἰδότα, ὅμως <sup>1</sup> ἐπα- ναμιμνήσκεσθαι βούλομαι, τίς ὁ Φωκέας πείσας καὶ <sup>2</sup> Πύλας ποιήσας προέσθαι, ὧν καταστὰς ἐκείνος κύριος τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον κύριος γέγονε, καὶ πεποίηχ’ ὑμῖν μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων μηδ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων εἶναι τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν πολέ- μου, ὃς λυπήσει μὲν ἕκαστον, ἐπειδὴν παρῇ, γέγονε δ’ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. 36. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρεκρούσθητε τόθ’ ὑμεῖς, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν τῇ πόλει πρᾶγμα. Οὔτε γὰρ ναυσὶ δῆπου κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦλθεν ἄν ποτε στόλῳ Φίλιππος οὔτε πεζῇ βαδίζων ὑπὲρ τὰς Πύλας

<sup>1</sup> ἐπαναμιμνήσκεσθαι Σ. Saup. ἐπαναμνήσαι Bk. Voem.

<sup>2</sup> Πύλας ποιήσας Σ. Saup. Πύλας ὑμᾶς Bk. Voem. Haud scio an ποιήσας rejiciendum sit.



καὶ Φωκέας, ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ δίκαι' ἂν ἐποίει καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην  
 ἄγων ἰσυχίαν εἶχεν, ἢ παραχρῆμ' ἂν ἦν ἐν ὁμοίῳ πο-  
 λέμῳ δι' ὃν τότε τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησεν. 37. Ταῦτ'  
 οὖν ὥς μὲν ὑπομῆσαι, νῦν ἱκανῶς εἴρηται, ὥς δ' ἂν  
 5 ἐξετασθεῖη μάλιστα ἀκριβῶς, μὴ γένοιτο, ὦ πάντες θεοί.  
 Οὐδένα γὰρ βουλοίμην <sup>1</sup> ἔγωγε ἄν, οὐδ' εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ'  
 ἀπολωλέναι, μετὰ τοῦ πάντων κινδύνου καὶ τῆς ζημίας  
 δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> ἔγωγε ἄν Σ. Saup. ἂν ἔγωγε Bk. ἔγωγ' ἄν Voem.

# ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

## Ο ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Γ'.

### ΛΙΒΑΝΙΟΥ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ἀπλὴ τοῦ λόγου τούτου ἡ ὑπόθεσις. Φιλίππου γὰρ λόγῳ μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγοντος, ἔργῳ δὲ πολλὰ ἀδικοῦντος, συμβουλεύει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ ῥήτωρ ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς κινδύνου μεγάλου καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπικρεμαμένον καὶ πᾶσι κοινῇ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

1. Πολλῶν, ὧ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγων γιγνομένων 5  
ὀλίγου δεῖν καθ' ἐκύστην ἐκκλησίαν περὶ ᾧ Φίλιππος,  
ἀφ' οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ  
τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικεῖ, πάντων εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι φησάντων  
γ' ἂν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ποιοῦσι τοῦτο, καὶ λέγειν δεῖν καὶ  
πράττειν, ὅπως ἐκεῖνος παύσεται τῆς ὑβρεως καὶ δί- 10  
κην δώσει, εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγμένα πάντα τὰ πράγματα  
καὶ προειμένα ὁρῶ, ὥστε δέδοικα μὴ βλάβσφημον μὲν  
εἰπεῖν, ἀληθὲς δ' ἦ· εἰ καὶ λέγειν ἅπαντες ἠβούλου-  
το οἱ παριόντες καὶ χειροτονεῖν ὑμεῖς, ἐξ ᾧ ὡς φαν-

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλους pr. Σ. Saup. ἄλλους Ἕλληνας Σ Bk. Voem

λότατ' ἔμελλε τὰ πράγμαθ' ἔξειν, οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι  
 δύνασθαι χεῖρον ἢ <sup>1</sup>νῦν διατεθῆναι. 2. Πολλὰ μὲν  
 οὖν ἴσως ἐστὶν αἷτια <sup>2</sup>τούτων, καὶ οὐ παρ' ἐν οὐδὲ δύο  
 εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματ' ἀφίκται, μάλιστα δ', ἅνπερ ἐξε-  
 5 τάζητε ὀρθῶς, εὐρήσετε διὰ τοὺς χαρίζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ  
 τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν προαιρουμένους, ὧν τινὲς μὲν, ὧ  
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν οἷς εὐδοκιμοῦσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ δύναν-  
 ται, ταῦτα φυλάττοντες οὐδεμίαν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων  
 πρόνοιαν ἔχουσιν, <sup>3</sup>[οὔκουν οὐδ' ὑμᾶς οἴονται δεῖν ἔχειν,]  
 10 ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας αἰτιώμενοι καὶ  
 διαβαλλοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν ἢ ὅπως <sup>4</sup>ἡ πόλις παρ'  
 αὐτῆς δίκην λήψεται καὶ περὶ τοῦτ' ἔσται, Φιλίππῳ δ'  
 ἐξέσται καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ὅ τι βούλεται. Αἱ δὲ  
 τοιαῦται πολιτεῖαι συνήθεις μὲν εἰσιν ὑμῖν, αἷτια δὲ  
 15 <sup>5</sup>τῶν κακῶν. 3. Ἀξιῶ δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰάν τι  
 τῶν ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρρῆσίας λέγω, μηδεμίαν μοι διὰ  
 τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργὴν γενέσθαι. Σκοπεῖτε γὰρ ὡδί·  
 ὑμεῖς τὴν παρρῆσίαν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὕτω κοινὴν  
 οἴεσθε δεῖν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς  
 20 ξένοις καὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτῆς μεταδεδώκατε, καὶ πολ-  
 λούς ἂν τις οἰκέτας ἴδοι παρ' <sup>6</sup>ὑμῖν μετὰ πλείονος ἐξ-

<sup>1</sup> νῦν pr. Σ. F. Ω. νῦν αὐτὰ Bk. Voem.

<sup>2</sup> τούτων Σ. Saup. τοῦ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν Bk.

<sup>3</sup> [οὔκουν . . . ἔχειν,] om. pr. Σ. Saup. οὔκουν . . . ἔχειν, Bk Voem.

<sup>4</sup> ἡ πόλις Σ. Saup. ἡ μὲν πόλις αὐτὴ Bk. Voem.

<sup>5</sup> τῶν κακῶν Σ. Saup. τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων Bk.

<sup>6</sup> ὑμῖν Bk. ἡμῖν Σ. Saup.

ουσίας ὅ τι βούλονται λέγοντας ἢ πολίτας ἐν ἐνίαις τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλεύειν παντά-  
 πασιν ἐξεληλάκατε. 4. Εἴθ' ὑμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τού-  
 του, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν καὶ κολακεύεσθαι  
 πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούουσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ 5  
 τοῖς γιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἤδη κινδυνεύειν. Εἰ  
 μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν οὕτω διάκεισθε, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω· εἰ  
 δ' ἂν συμφέροι χωρὶς κολακείας ἐβελήσετε ἀκούειν, ἔτοι-  
 μος λέγειν. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάνυ φαύλως τὰ πράγματα  
 ἔχει καὶ πολλὰ προεῖται, ὅμως ἔστιν, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς τὰ 10  
 δέοντα ποιεῖν βούλησθ', ἔτι πάντα ταῦτα ἐπανορθώ-  
 σασθαι. 5. Καὶ παράδοξον μὲν ἴσως ἐστὶν ὃ μέλλω  
 λέγειν, ἀληθὲς δέ· τὸ χεῖριστον ἐν τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι,  
 τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. Τί οὖν  
 ἐστὶ τοῦτο; ὅτι οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα οὐδὲν τῶν δεόν- 15  
 των ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, ἐπεί  
 τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ἂν προσῆκε πραττόντων οὕτω διέκειτο,  
 οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ γενέσθαι βελτίω. Νῦν δὲ τῆς  
 μὲν ῥαθυμίας τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἀμελείας κεκράτηκε  
 Φίλιππος, τῆς πόλεως δ' οὐ κεκράτηκεν, οὐδ' ἥττησθε 20  
 ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κεκίνησθε.

[6. <sup>1</sup> Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες <sup>2</sup> ὁμολογοῦμεν Φίλιππον τῇ  
 πόλει πολεμεῖν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην παραβαίνειν, οὐδὲν

<sup>1</sup> §§ 6, 7. Εἰ μὲν οὖν . . . . πολεμεῖν δεῖ. om. pr. Σ. in margine  
 autem rec. Σ.

<sup>2</sup> ὁμολογοῦμεν Bk. ὁμολογοῦμεν Σ.



ἄλλο ἔδει τὸν παριόντα λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν ἢ ὅπως  
 ἀσφαλέστατα καὶ ῥᾶστα αὐτὸν ἀμυνούμεθα. Ἐπειδὴ  
 δὲ οὕτως ἀτόπως ἔνιοι διάκεινται, ὥστε πόλεις κατα-  
 λαμβάνοντος ἐκείνου καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔχοντος  
 5 καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδικούντος ἀνέχεσθαι τινων ἐν  
 ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις λεγόντων πολλάκις, ὡς ἡμῶν τινές εἰσι  
 οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸν πόλεμον, ἀνάγκη φυλάττεσθαι καὶ  
 διορθοῦσθαι περὶ τούτου. 7. Ἔστι γὰρ δέος, μή ποθ'  
 ὡς ἀμυνούμεθα γράψας καὶ συμβουλεύσας τις εἰς τὴν  
 10 αἰτίαν ἐμπέσῃ τοῦ πεποιηκέναι τὸν πόλεμον. 1. Ἐγὼ  
 δὲ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀπάντων λέγω καὶ διορίζομαι, εἰ ἐφ'  
 ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τοῦ πότερον εἰρήνην  
 ἄγειν ἢ πολεμεῖν δεῖ.] 8. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔξεστιν εἰρήνην  
 ἄγειν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν  
 15 ἄρξωμαι, φημὶ ἔγωγε ἄγειν ἡμᾶς δεῖν, καὶ τὸν ταῦτα  
 λέγοντα γράφειν καὶ πράττειν καὶ μὴ φενακίζειν ἀξιῶ.  
 Εἰ δ' ἕτερος τὰ ὅπλα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων καὶ δύναμιν  
 πολλὴν περὶ αὐτὸν τοῦνομα μὲν τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑμῖν  
 2 προβάλλει, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις αὐτὸς τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου χρη-  
 20 ται, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴν ἀμύνεσθαι; φάσκειν δὲ  
 εἰρήνην ἄγειν εἰ βούλεσθε, ὥσπερ ἐκείνος, οὐ διαφέρο-  
 μαι. 9. Εἰ δέ τις ταύτην εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει, ἐξ ἧς  
 ἐκείνος πάντα τᾶλλα λαβὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἥξει, πρῶτον

1 Ἐγὼ δὲ in margine Σ. Ἐγὼ δὲ Bk. Saup.

2 προβάλλει Σ. Saup. Bk. ed. Oxon. 1823. προβάλλεται Bk. ed. pr.

μὲν μαίνεται, ἔπειτα ἐκείνῳ παρ' ὑμῶν, οὐχ ὑμῖν παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην λέγει. Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὃ τῶν ἀναλισκομένων χρημάτων πάντων Φίλιππος ὠνεῖται, αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, ὑφ' ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖσθαι.

10. Καὶ μὴν εἰ μέχρι τούτου περιμενοῦμεν, ἕως ἂν 5  
 ἡμῖν ὁμολογήσῃ πολεμεῖν, πάντων ἐσμέν εὐηθέστατοι. Οὐδὲ γὰρ, ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὐτὴν βαδίζῃ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τοῦτ' ἐρεῖ, εἴπερ οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πεποί-  
 ηκε δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι. 11. Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ὀλυνθίοις  
 τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως στάδια εἶπεν, ὅτι δεῖ 10  
 δυοῖν θάτερον, <sup>1</sup> ἢ ἑκείνους ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ μὴ οἰκεῖν ἢ αὐτὸν  
 ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, εἴ τις αὐτὸν  
 αἰτιάσαιτό τι τοιοῦτον, ἀγανακτῶν καὶ πρέσβεις πέμ-  
 πων τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους· τοῦτο δ' εἰς Φωκέας ὡς  
 πρὸς συμμάχους ἐπορεύετο, καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκέων ἦσαν 13  
 οἱ παρηκολούθουν αὐτῷ πορευομένῳ, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἤρι-  
 ζον <sup>2</sup> οἱ πολλοὶ Θηβαίοις οὐ λυσιτελήσειν τὴν ἐκείνου  
 πάροδον. 12. Καὶ μὴν καὶ Φερὰς πρῶν ὡς φίλος καὶ  
 σύμμαχος εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐλθὼν ἔχει καταλαβών. Καὶ  
 τὰ τελευταῖα τοῖς τालαιπύροις Ὠρεΐταις τουτοισὶ ἐπι- 20  
 σκεφτομένους ἔφη τοὺς στρατιώτας πεπομφέναι κατ'  
 εὐνοίαν. Πυνθάνεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς νοσοῦσι καὶ  
<sup>3</sup> στασιάζουσιν, συμμάχων δ' εἶναι καὶ φίλων ἀληθινῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἢ ἑκείνους Rued. Fr. ἢ ἐκείνους Bk. Saup.

<sup>2</sup> οἱ πολλοὶ Σ. Funkh. Obs. crit. p. 5. οἱ om. Bk. Voem.

<sup>3</sup> στασιάζουσιν Σ. A<sup>1</sup>. Saup. στασιάζουσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς Bk.

ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς παρεῖναι. 13. <sup>1</sup>Εἰτ' οἷεσθ' αὐτόν, οἷ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν κακόν, μὴ παθεῖν δ' ἐφυλάξαντ' ἂν ἴσως, τούτους μὲν ἐξαπατᾶν αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' ἐκ προῤῥή-  
 5 σεως πολεμήσειν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἕως ἂν ἐκόντες ἐξαπατᾶσθε; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. 14. Καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἀβελτερώτατος εἴη πάντων ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ὑμῶν μηδὲν ἐγκαλούντων αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς αἰτιωμένων καὶ κρίνειν βουλομένων, ἐκεῖνος ἐκλύσας τὴν πρὸς ἀλ-  
 0 λήλους ἔριν ὑμῶν καὶ φιλονεικίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν προείποι τρέπεσθαι, καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ μισθοφορούντων τοὺς λόγους ἀφέλοιτο, οἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, λέγοντες ὡς ἐκεῖνός γε οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει.

15. Ἀλλ' ἔστιν, <sup>2</sup>ὧ πρὸς τοῦ Διός, ὅστις εὖ φρονῶν  
 15 ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν ἄγοντ' εἰρήνην ἢ πολεμοῦνθ' ἑαυτῷ σκέψαιτ' ἂν; οὐδεὶς δῆπου. Ὁ τοίνυν Φίλιππος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἄρτι τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας, οὕτω Διοπείθους στρατηγούντος οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν Χερρόνήσῳ νῦν ἀπεσταλμένων, Σέρῤῥιον καὶ  
 20 Δορίσκον <sup>3</sup>ἐλάμβανε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Σερῤῥίου τείχους καὶ Ἱεροῦ ὅρους στρατιώτας ἐξέβαλλεν, οὓς ὁ ὑμέτερος στρατηγὸς <sup>4</sup>κατέστησεν. Καίτοι ταῦτα πρᾶττων τί

<sup>1</sup> Εἰτ' οἷεσθ' . . . . ἂν κακόν, Σ. Bk. Εἰτ' οἷεσθε οἱ μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτὸν ἐδυνήθησαν ποιῆσαι, vulg. vid. Speng. Diss. p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> ὧ vid. Funkh. Obs. crit. p. 5. qui ὧ melius esse intelligit.

<sup>3</sup> ἐλάμβανε Σ. Saur. κατελάμβανε Bk. Voem.

<sup>4</sup> κατέστησεν Σ. F. Υ. Ω. Saur. ἐγκατέστησεν Bk.

ἐποίει; εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὁμωμόκει. 16. Καὶ μηδεὶς  
 εἶπῃ, τί δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἢ τί τούτων μέλει τῇ πόλει;  
 Εἰ μὲν γὰρ μικρὰ<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα ἢ μηδὲν ὑμῖν αὐτῶν ἔμελεν,  
 ἄλλος ἂν εἶη λόγος οὗτος. Τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ δί-  
 καιον ἂν τ' ἐπὶ μικροῦ τις ἂν τ' ἐπὶ μείζονος παραβαίῃ, 5  
 τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν. 17. Φέρε δὴ νῦν, ἡνίκ' εἰς  
 Χερρόνησον, ἣν βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑμε-  
 τέραν ἐγνώκασιν εἶναι, ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ βοηθεῖν  
 ὁμολογεῖ καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα, τί ποιεῖ; <sup>2</sup>φησὶ μὲν  
 γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ <sup>3</sup>τοσούτῳ δέω ταῦτα ποιοῦντα, 10  
 ἐκείνον ἄγειν ὁμολογεῖν τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην, ὥστε  
 καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τυραννίδα κα-  
 τασκευάζοντα καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Θράκην παριόντα καὶ τὰ ἐν  
 Πελοποννήσῳ σκευωρούμενον καὶ πάνθ', ὅσα πράττει  
 μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ποιοῦντα λύνει φημὶ τὴν εἰρήνην 15  
 καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ἐφι-  
 στάντας εἰρήνην ἄγειν φήσετε, ἕως ἂν αὐτὰ τοῖς τείχε-  
 σιν ἤδη <sup>4</sup>προσάγωσιν. Ἄλλ' οὐ φήσετε. Ὁ γάρ, οἷς  
 ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθείην, ταῦτα πράττων καὶ κατασκευαζόμε-  
 νος, οὗτος ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖ, καὶν μήπω βύλλῃ μηδὲ τοξεύῃ. 20  
 18. Τίσιν οὖν ὑμεῖς κινδυνεύσαιτ' ἂν, εἴ τι γένοιτο; τῷ

<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα Σ. Saup. Funkh. Obs. crit. p. 5. ταῦτά ἐστιν Bk. Voem.

<sup>2</sup> φησὶ Bk. Rued. φῆις Σ. φῆς B. & S.

<sup>3</sup> τοσούτῳ Σ. vid. Funkh. Obs. crit. p. 5. τοσούτου Bk. Saup.

<sup>4</sup> προσάγωσιν Σ. Funkh. Obs. crit. p. 6. B. & S. προσαγάγωσιν Bk. Voem.



τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον <sup>1</sup> ἄλλοτριωθῆναι, τῷ Μεγάρων καὶ  
 τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸν πολεμοῦνθ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι κύριον, τῷ  
 Πελοπονήσιους τὰ κείνου φρονῆσαι. Εἶτα τὸν τοῦτο  
 τὸ μυχύνημα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν <sup>2</sup> ἱστάντα, τοῦτον εἰρήνην  
<sup>5</sup> ἄγειν ἐγὼ φῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς; πολλοῦ γε καὶ <sup>3</sup> δεῖ, ἀλλ'  
 ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνείλε Φωκέας, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔγωγ' αὐτὸν  
 πολεμεῖν ὀρίζομαι. 19. Ὑμᾶς δέ, <sup>4</sup> ἐὰν ἀμύνησθε ἤδη,  
 σωφρονήσειν φημί, ἐὰν δ' <sup>5</sup> ἐάσητε, οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ὅταν  
 βούλησθε δυνήσεσθε ποιῆσαι. Καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε ἀφέ-  
<sup>10</sup> σθηκα τῶν ἄλλων, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν συμβουλευ-  
 όντων, ὥστε οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ Χερρρόνησου νῦν σκο-  
 πεῖν οὐδὲ Βυζαντίου, ἀλλ' ἐπαμῦναι μὲν τούτοις, καὶ  
 διατηρῆσαι μή τι <sup>6</sup> πάθωσι, βουλευέσθαι μέντοι περὶ  
 πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ <sup>7</sup> μεγάλῳ καθε-  
<sup>15</sup> στώτων. 20. Βούλομαι δ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξ ὧν ὑπὲρ  
 τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτω φοβοῦμαι, ἵν', εἰ μὲν ὀρθῶς λογί-  
 ζομαι, μετάσχητε τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ πρόνοιάν τιν' ὑμῶν  
 γ' αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρα βούλεσθε, ποιήση-  
 σθε, ἂν δὲ ληρεῖν καὶ τετυφῶσθαι δοκῶ, μήτε νῦν μήτ'  
<sup>20</sup> αὖθις ὡς ὑγαιίνοντί μοι προσέχητε.

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλοτριωθῆναι Σ. Β. & S. ὑμῶν ἄλλοτριωθῆναι Bk.

<sup>2</sup> ἱστάντα Σ. Bk. B. & S. ἱστάντα καὶ κατασκειάζοντα Voem.

<sup>3</sup> δεῖ Σ. F. γ. Ω. Β. & S. δέω Bk.

<sup>4</sup> ἐὰν Σ. Β. & S. ἐὰν μὲν Bk.

<sup>5</sup> ἐάσητε Σ. A<sup>1</sup>. H. B. & S. ἀναβάλλησθε Bk.

<sup>6</sup> πάθωσι, βουλευέσθαι Σ. Β. & S. πάθωσι, καὶ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐκεῖ νῦν  
 στρατιώταις πίνθ' ὅσων ἂν δέωνται ἀποστεῖλαι, βουλευέσθαι Bk. Voem

<sup>7</sup> μεγάλῳ Σ. Saup. μεγίστῳ Bk.

21. "Οτι μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς <sup>1</sup> Φίλιππος ἡῤῥηται, καὶ ἀπίστως καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ὅτι πολλῷ παραδοξότερον ἦν τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου γενέσθαι ἢ νῦν, ὅθ' οὕτω πολλὰ προείληφε, καὶ τὰ 5 λοιπὰ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τοιαῦτ' ἂν ἔχοιμι διεξελθεῖν, παραλείψω. 22. Ἀλλ' ὁρῶ συγκεχωρηκότας ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀρξαμένους, αὐτῷ, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα χρόνον <sup>2</sup> πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Ἑλληνικοί. Τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; 10 τὸ ποιεῖν, ὅ τι βούλεται, καὶ καθ' ἓνα οὕτως περικόπτειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντα. 23. Καίτοι προστάται μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ τρία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένεσθε, προστάται δὲ τριάκοντα ἐνὸς δέοντα Λακεδαιμόνιοι, 15 ἴσχυσαν δέ τι καὶ Θηβαῖοι <sup>3</sup> τουτουσὶ τοὺς τελευταίους χρόνους μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην. Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὔτε Θηβαίοις οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδεπώποτε, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συνεχωρήθη τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλοισθε. Οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ. 20 24. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τότ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ τισιν οὐ μετρίως ἐδόκουν προσφέρεσθαι, πάντες ᾤοντο δεῖν, καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες

<sup>1</sup> Φίλιππος Σ. Β. & Σ. ὁ Φίλιππος Bk. Voem.

<sup>2</sup> πάντες Σ. Β. & Σ. ἅπαντες Bk. Voem.

<sup>3</sup> τουτουσὶ τοὺς τελευταίους Σ. Β. & Σ. τοὺς τελευταίους τουτουσὶ Bk.

αὐτοῖς, μετὰ τῶν ἡδικομένων πολ.εμεῖν, καὶ πάλιν Λακε-  
 δαιμονίοις ἄρξασι καὶ παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δυνα-  
 στείαν ὑμῖν, ἐπειδὴ πλεονάζειν ἐπεχείρουν καὶ πέρα τοῦ  
 μετρίου τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐκίνουν, πάντες εἰς πόλεμον  
 5 κατέστησαν, καὶ οἱ μὴδὲν ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς. 25. Καὶ  
 τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι, οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅ τι ἡδικού-  
 μεθ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, ὅμως ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικου-  
 μένους ἐωρῶμεν, πολεμεῖν ὥομεθα δεῖν. Καίτοι πάνθ'  
 10 ὅσα ἐξημάρτηται καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντ'  
 ἐκείνοις ἔτεσι καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις ἐν τοῖς  
 ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐλάττονά ἐστιν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὧν  
 Φίλιππος ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα οὐχ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν, οἷς  
 ἐπιπολάζει, ἡδίκηκε τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ  
 15 <sup>1</sup>πέμπτον μέρος τούτων ἐκείνα. 26. [<sup>2</sup>Καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ  
 βραχείος λόγου ῥάδιον δεῖξαι.] Ὀλυνθον μὲν δὴ καὶ  
 Μεθώνην καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πό-  
 λεις ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐὼ, ἃς ἀπάσας οὕτως ὡμῶς ἀνήρηκεν,  
 ὥστε <sup>3</sup>μηδ' εἰ πώποτ' ὠκλήθησαν προσελθόντ' εἶναι ῥά-  
 20 διον εἰπεῖν. Καὶ τὸ Φωκέων ἔθνος τοσοῦτον ἀνήρημέ-  
 νον σιωπῶ. Ἀλλὰ Θετταλία πῶς ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς  
 πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρήρηται καὶ τετραρ-  
 χίας κατέστησεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> πέμπτον Σ. Β. & S. πολλοστὸν Bk.

<sup>2</sup> Καὶ . . . . δεῖξαι. in margine Σ. Bk. om. B. & S.

<sup>3</sup> μηδ' Bk. B. & S. Fr. μηδένα μηδ' F. Υ. Ω. [μηδένα] μηδ  
 Voem.

κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύουσιν ; 27. αἱ δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις οὐκ  
 ἤδη τυραννοῦνται, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν νήσῳ πλησίον Θηβῶν  
 καὶ Ἀθηνῶν ; οὐ διαρρήδην <sup>1</sup> εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς γράφει  
 “ἐμοὶ δ' ἐστὶν εἰρήνη πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούειν ἐμοῦ βουλομέ-  
 νους ;” Καὶ οὐ γράφει μὲν ταῦτα, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις οὐ 5  
 ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐφ' Ἑλλησποντον οἷχεται, πρότερον ἦκεν  
 ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἥλιν ἔχει τηλικαύτην πόλιν ἐν Πελο-  
 ποννήσῳ, Μεγάροις ἐπεβούλευσε πρῶτον, οὗθ' ἡ Ἑλλὰς  
 οὗθ' ἡ βάρβαρος τὴν πλεονεξίαν χωρεῖ τὰνθρώπου.  
 28. Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἅπαντες καὶ ἀκούον- 10  
 τες οὐ πέμπομεν πρέσβεις περὶ τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 καὶ ἀγανακτοῦμεν, οὕτω δὲ κακῶς διακείμεθα καὶ διορω-  
 ρύγμεθα κατὰ πόλεις, ὥστ' ἄχρι τῆς <sup>2</sup> τήμερον ἡμέρας  
 οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν συμφερόντων οὔτε τῶν δεόντων πρᾶξιαι  
 δυνάμεθα, οὐδὲ συστήναι, οὐδὲ κοινωνίαν βοηθείας καὶ 15  
 φιλίας οὐδεμίαν ποιήσασθαι, 29. ἀλλὰ μείζω γιγνόμε-  
 νον τὸν ἄνθρωπον περιορῶμεν, τὸν χρόνον κερδᾶναι τοῦ-  
 τον ὃν ἄλλος ἀπόλλυται ἕκαστος ἐγνωκώς, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ  
 δοκεῖ, οὐχ ὅπως σωθήσεται τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σκοπῶν  
 οὐδὲ πρᾶττων, ἐπεὶ, ὅτι γε ὥσπερ περίοδος ἢ καταβο- 20  
 λὴ πυρετοῦ ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς κακοῦ καὶ τῷ πάνυ πόρρῳ  
 δοκοῦντι νῦν ἀφεστίαναι προσέρχεται, οὐδεὶς <sup>3</sup> ἀγνοεῖ.  
 30. Καὶ μὴν κἀκείνῳ γε ἴστε, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαι-

<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς Σ. Β. & Σ. ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς Bk.

<sup>2</sup> τήμερον Bk. Β. & Σ. σήμερον Σ. A<sup>2</sup>. Funkh. Obs. crit. p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> ἀγνοεῖ Σ Β. & Σ. ἀγνοεῖ δήπου Bk. Voem.



μονίων ἢ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔπασχον οἱ "Ελληνες, ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπὸ  
 γνησίων γε ὄντων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡδικοῦντο, καὶ τὸν αὐ-  
 τὸν τρόπον ἂν τις ὑπέλαβε τοῦθ', ὥσπερ ἂν <sup>1</sup>εἰ υἱὸς ἐν  
 οὐσίᾳ πολλῇ γεγονὼς γνήσιος διώκει τι μὴ καλῶς μὴδ'  
 5 ὀρθῶς, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτο <sup>2</sup>ἄξιον μέμψεως εἶναι καὶ  
 κατηγορίας, ὡς δ' οὐ προσήκων ἢ ὡς οὐ κληρονόμος  
 τούτων ὢν ταῦτα ἐποίει, οὐκ ἐνεῖναι λέγειν. 31. Εἰ δέ  
 γε δοῦλος ἢ ὑποβολιμαῖος τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα ἀπώλλυε  
 καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο, Ἑράκλεις ὅσῳ μᾶλλον δεινὸν καὶ ὀργῆς  
 10 ἄξιον πάντες ἂν <sup>3</sup>ἔφησαν εἶναι! ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ Φιλίπ-  
 που καὶ ὦν ἐκείνος πρᾶττει νῦν, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οὐ  
 μόνον οὐχ' Ἕλληνας ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς  
 "Ελλησιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν καλὸν  
 εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνας, ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀνδράποδον  
 15 σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἦν <sup>4</sup>πρότερον πρίασθαι.

32. Καίτοι τί τῆς ἐσχάτης ὕβρεως ἀπολείπει; οὐ  
 πρὸς τῷ <sup>5</sup>πόλεις ἀνηρηκέναι τίθησι μὲν τὰ Πύθια, τὸν  
 κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγῶνα, καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ παρῇ, τοὺς  
 δούλους ἀγωνοθετήσοντας πέμπει; [<sup>6</sup>κύριος δὲ Πυλῶν  
 20 καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς "Ελλήνας παρόδων ἐστί, καὶ φρουραῖς

<sup>1</sup> εἰ υἱὸς Σ. Bk. B. & S. εἴ τις υἱὸς F. Y. Ω.

<sup>2</sup> ἄξιον Reisk. Bk. B. & S. ἄξιος codd. Voem.

<sup>3</sup> ἔφησαν Σ. B. & S. <sup>η</sup>ἔφασαν F. ἔφασαν Bk.

<sup>4</sup> πρότερον πρίασθαι Bk. πρότερον Σ. B. & S.

<sup>5</sup> πόλεις Σ. F. Y. Ω. πόλεις ['Ελληνίδας] Bk.

<sup>6</sup> κύριος δὲ Πυλῶν . . . . τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἅπασι μέλειστι; in margine  
 rec. Σ. Bk.

καὶ ξένοις τοὺς τόπους τούτους κατέχει; ἔχει δὲ καὶ  
τὴν προμαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, παρώσας ἡμᾶς καὶ Θετταλοὺς  
καὶ Δωριέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀμφικτύονας, ἧς οὐδὲ  
τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἅπασι μέτεστι;] 33. γράφει δὲ Θεττα-  
λοῖς ὃν χρὴ τρόπον πολιτεύεσθαι; πέμπει δὲ ξένους 5  
τοὺς μὲν εἰς Πορθμόν, τὸν δῆμον ἐκβαλοῦντας τὸν  
Ἑρετριέων, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' Ὀρεόν, τύραννον Φιλιστίδην  
καταστήσοντας; Ἀλλ' ὅμως ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ "Ελληνες  
ἀνέχονται, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, <sup>1</sup> ὥσπερ τὴν χάλαζαν,  
ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι θεωρεῖν, <sup>2</sup> εὐχόμενοι μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς 10  
ἕκαστοι γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρῶν. 34. Οὐ  
μόνον δ' ἐφ' οἷς ἡ Ἑλλὰς ὑβρίζεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδεὶς  
ἀμύνεται, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἀδικεῖται.  
Τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη τοῦσχατόν ἐστιν. Οὐ Κορινθίων ἐπ'  
Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλήλυθε καὶ Λευκάδα; οὐκ Ἀχαιῶν Ναύ- 15  
πακτον ἀφελόμενος ὁμώμοκεν Αἰτωλοῖς παραδώσειν;  
οὐχὶ Θηβαίων Ἐχίνον ἀφήρηται, καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζαντί-  
ους πορεύεται συμμάχους ὄντας; οὐχ ἡμῶν, ἐὼ τᾶλλα,  
ἀλλὰ Χερρόνησου τὴν μεγίστην ἔχει πόλιν Καρδίαν;  
35. Ταῦτα τοίνυν πάσχοντες ἅπαντες μέλλομεν καὶ 20  
μαλακιζόμεθα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον βλέπομεν, ἀπι-  
στοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, οὐ τῷ <sup>3</sup> πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικοῦντι.  
Καίτοι τὸν ἅπασιν ἀσελγῶς οὕτω χρώμενον τί οἴεσθε,

<sup>1</sup> ὥσπερ Σ. Β. & S. ὄνπερ Bk. Voem.

<sup>2</sup> εὐχόμενοι Σ. Β. & S. εὐχόμενοι μὲν Bk.

<sup>3</sup> πάντας Σ. Bk. φανερώς πάντας F. Υ. Ω.

ἐπειδὴν καθ' ἓνα ἡμῶν ἐκάστου κύριος γένηται, τί ποιή-  
σειν ;

36. Τί οὖν αἴτιον τουτωνί ; οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ  
δικαίας αἰτίας οὔτε τόθ' οὕτως εἶχον ἐτοίμως πρὸς  
5 <sup>1</sup> ἐλευθερίαν οἱ Ἕλληνες οὔτε νῦν πρὸς τὸ δουλεύειν.  
Ἦν τι τότ', ἦν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολ-  
λῶν διανοαῖς, ὃ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃ καὶ τοῦ Περσῶν ἐκρά-  
τησε πλούτου καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἦγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ οὔτε  
ναυμαχίας οὔτε πεζῆς μάχης οὐδεμιᾶς ἤπτᾶτο, νῦν δ'  
10 ἀπολωλὸς ἅπαντα λελύμανται καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω πε-  
ποίηκε <sup>2</sup> παντὰ τὰ πράγματα. 37. Τί οὖν ἦν <sup>3</sup> τοῦτο ;  
τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἄρχειν <sup>4</sup> ἀεὶ βουλομένων ἢ διαφθείρειν  
τὴν Ἑλλάδα χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἅπαντες ἐμίσουν,  
καὶ χαλεπώτατον ἦν τὸ δωροδοκοῦντα ἐλεγχθῆναι, καὶ  
15 τιμωρία μεγίστη τοῦτον <sup>5</sup> ἐκόλαζον. 38. Τὸν οὖν και-  
ρὸν ἐκάστου τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃν ἡ <sup>6</sup> τύχη πολλάκις πα-  
ρασκευάζει, οὐκ ἦν πρίασθαι παρὰ τῶν λεγόντων οὐδὲ  
τῶν στρατηγούντων, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν

<sup>1</sup> ἐλευθερίαν Σ. Β. & S. ἐλευθερίαν ἅπαντες Bk. Voem

<sup>2</sup> πάντα τὰ πράγματα Σ. Β. & S. τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα Bk. Rued.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦτο ; τοὺς pr. Σ. Β. & S. τοῦτο ; οὐδὲν ποικίλον οὐδὲ σοφόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς Bk.

<sup>4</sup> ἀεὶ Bk. om. pr. Σ. et Voem. et B. & S.

<sup>5</sup> ἐκόλαζον Σ. pr. Υ. Β. & S. ἐκόλαζον, καὶ παραίτησις οὐδεμία ἦν οὐδὲ συγγνώμη. Bk.

<sup>6</sup> τύχη πολλάκις pr. Σ. Υ. τύχη καὶ τοῖς ἀμελοῦσι κατὰ τῶν προσε-  
χόντων καὶ τοῖς μηδὲν ἐθέλουσι ποιεῖν κατὰ τῶν πάντα ἃ προσήκει  
πραττόντων πολλάκις Bk. Voem.

οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπ-  
 στίαν, οὐδ' ὅλως <sup>1</sup> τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. 39. Νῦν δ' ἅπανθ'  
 ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα, ἀντεισῆκται δὲ  
 ἀντὶ τούτων, ὑφ' ὧν ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς.  
 Ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τί; Ζῆλος, εἴ τις εἴληφέ τι. Γέλως, ἂν <sup>5</sup>  
<sup>2</sup> ὁμολογῇ. Μῖσος, ἂν τούτοις τις ἐπιτιμᾷ. Τᾶλλα  
 πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκεῖν ἥρτηται. 40. Ἐπεὶ τριή-  
 ρεις γε καὶ σωμάτων πλήθος καὶ <sup>3</sup> χρημάτων καὶ τῆς  
 ἄλλης παρασκευῆς ἀφθονία, καὶ τᾶλλα οἷς ἂν τις ἰσχύ-  
 ει τὰς πόλεις κρίνοι, νῦν ἅπασι καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω <sup>10</sup>  
 ἐστὶ τῶν τότε πολλῶ. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντ' ἄχρηστα  
 ἀπρακτα ἀνόνητα ὑπὸ τῶν πωλούντων γίγνεται.

41. "Οτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει τὰ μὲν νῦν, ὁρᾶτε δή-  
 που καὶ οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος, τὰ δ' ἐν  
 τοῖς ἄνωθεν χρόνοις ὅτι τὰναντία εἶχεν, ἐγὼ δηλώ- <sup>15</sup>  
 σω, οὐ λόγους ἐμαυτοῦ λέγων, ἀλλὰ γράμματα τῶν  
 προγόνων τῶν <sup>4</sup> ὑμετέρων, ἀ <sup>5</sup> κείνοι κατέθεντο εἰς στή-  
 λην χαλκῇν γράψαντες εἰς <sup>6</sup> ἀκρόπολιν, [οὐχ ἵνα αὐτοῖς  
 ἢ χρήσιμα (καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων τὰ  
 δέοντα ἐφρόνουν), ἀλλ' ἵν' ὑμεῖς ἔχητε ὑπομνήματα καὶ <sup>20</sup>  
 παραδείγματα, ὥς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων σπουδάζειν προσ-

<sup>1</sup> τοιοῦτον Σ. B. & S. τῶν τοιούτων Bk.

<sup>2</sup> ὁμολογῇ. pr. Σ. B. & S. ὁμολογῇ. Συγγνώμη τοῖς ἐλεγχουμένοις.  
 Bk. Voem. Rued. vid. Speng. Diss. p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> χρημάτων pr. Σ. B. & S. χρημάτων πρόσδοι Bk. Voem.

<sup>4</sup> ὑμετέρων pr. Σ. B. & S. ὑμετέρων δεικνύων Bk.

<sup>5</sup> κείνοι Bk. Dind. B. & S. κείνοι Σ.

<sup>6</sup> ἀκρόπολιν, οὐχ ἵνα . . . τὰ γράμματα; Bk. ἀκρόπολιν. pr. Σ. Fr.



ήκει. 42. Τί οὖν λέγει τὰ γράμματα ;] <sup>1</sup> “ Ἀρθμιος, φησίν, ὁ Πυθώνακτος <sup>2</sup> ὁ Ζελεΐτης <sup>3</sup> ἄτιμος καὶ πολέμιος τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, αὐτὸς καὶ γένος.” Εἰθ’ ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται, δι’ ἣν <sup>4</sup> ταῦτ’ ἐγένετο. “ ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἤγαγεν.” Ταῦτ’ ἐστὶ τὰ γράμματα. 43. Λογίζεσθε δὴ πρὸς <sup>5</sup> θεῶν, τίς ἦν ποθ’ ἡ διάνοια τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῶν τότε ταῦτα ποιούντων, ἢ τί τὸ ἀξίωμα. Ἐκεῖνοι Ζελεΐτην τινὰ Ἀρθμιον δούλον βασιλέως (ἡ γὰρ 10 Ζέλειά ἐστι τῆς Ἀσίας), ὅτι τῷ δεσπότῃ διακουὼν χρυσίου ἤγαγεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, οὐκ Ἀθήναζε, ἐχθρὸν αὐτῶν ἀνέγραψαν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, αὐτὸν καὶ γένος, καὶ ἀτίμους. 44. Τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶν οὐχ ἣν οὕτωσί τις ἀνφήσειεν ἀτιμίαν. Τί γὰρ τῷ Ζελεΐτῃ, <sup>6</sup> τῶν Ἀθήνησι 15 κοινῶν εἰ μὴ μεθέξειν <sup>7</sup> ἔμελλεν ; ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς φονικοῖς γέγραπται νόμοις, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀν μὴ διδῶ <sup>8</sup> δίκας φόνου

<sup>1</sup> Ἀρθμιος Bk. Ἀρίθμιος Σ. alii codd.

<sup>2</sup> ὁ Ζελεΐτης Bk. ὁ om. Σ.

ἔστω

<sup>3</sup> ἄτιμος B. & S. ἄτιμος Σ. ἄτιμος ἔστω Bk. ἄτιμος [ἔστω] Voem.

<sup>4</sup> ταῦτ’ Σ. B. & S. τοῦτ’ Bk.

<sup>5</sup> θεῶν, τίς Σ. θεῶν καὶ θεωρεῖτε παρ’ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς τίς Bk. παρ’ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς Speng. (Diss. p. 182) placent.

<sup>6</sup> τῶν Ἀθήνησι κοινῶν εἰ μὴ pr. Σ. B. & S. εἰ τῶν Ἀθήνησι κοινῶν μὴ Bk.

<sup>7</sup> ἔμελλεν ; pr. Σ. B. & S. ἔμελλεν ; ἀλλ’ οὐ τοῦτο λέγει, Bk. ἔμελλεν ; ἀλλ’ . . . . λέγει. Voem.

<sup>8</sup> δίκας φόνου δικάσασθαι pr. Σ. Υ. δίκας autem in margine Υ. rec. [δίκας] φόν δικάσασθ., ἀλλ’ εὐαγὲς ἢ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι, Bk. Voem., cui tamen δίκας placet.

δικάσασθαι, “καὶ ἄτιμος” φησὶ “τεθνάτω.” Τοῦτο δὴ λέγει, καθαρὸν τὸν τούτων τινὰ ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι. 45. Οὐκοῦν ἐνόμιζον ἐκεῖνοι τῆς <sup>1</sup> πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς ἔμελεν, εἴ τις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὰς ὠνεῖται καὶ 5 διαφθείρει, μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν. Ἐκόλαζον δ' οὕτω καὶ ἐτιμωροῦντο οὓς <sup>2</sup> αἴσθοντο, ὥστε καὶ στηλῖτας ποιεῖν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκότως τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦν τῷ βαρβάρῳ φοβερά, οὐχ ὁ βάρβαρος τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. 46. Ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχεθ' <sup>10</sup> ὑμεῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔτε πρὸς τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ <sup>3</sup> πῶς; [ἴστε αὐτοί. Τί γὰρ δεῖ περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν κατηγορεῖν; παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν βέλτιον ὑμῶν ἅπαντες οἱ λοιποὶ Ἕλληνες. Διόπερ φημὶ ἔγωγε καὶ σπουδῆς πολλῆς καὶ βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς τὰ παρόντα πρά- 15 γματα προσδεῖσθαι. Τίνος] εἴπω; κελεύετε καὶ οὐκ ὀργισθε;

<sup>4</sup> ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΕΙ.

47. Ἔστι τοίνυν τις εὐήθης λόγος παρὰ τῶν παραμυθεῖσθαι βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν, ὥς ἄρα οὕτω Φίλιπ- 20 πός ἐστι, <sup>5</sup> οἷοί ποτ' ἦσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἱ θαλάττης

<sup>1</sup> πάντων Σ. Bk. B. & S. ἀπάντων vulg.

<sup>2</sup> αἴσθοντο Σ. B. & S. vid. Speng. Diss. p. 183. αἴσθοντο δωροδοκῶντας Bk.

<sup>3</sup> πῶς; [ἴστε . . . Τίνος] εἴπω; sine uncis Bk. πῶς; εἴπω; Σ. B. & S.

<sup>4</sup> ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΕΙ. Σ. F. Υ. Bk. Voem. om.

<sup>5</sup> οἷοί Σ. B. & S. τοιοῦτος, οἷοί Bk. Voem.

μὲν ἦρχον καὶ γῆς ἀπάσης, βασιλέα δὲ σύμμαχον εἶ-  
 χον, ὑφίστατο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡμύνατο κα-  
 κείνους ἢ πόλις καὶ οὐκ ἀνηρπάσθη. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπάν-  
 των, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, πολλὴν εἰληφότεων ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ  
 5 οὐδὲν ὁμοίων ὄντων τῶν νῦν τοῖς πρότερον, οὐδὲν ἰγού-  
 μαι πλέον ἢ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κεκινήσθαι καὶ ἐπιδεδωκέ-  
 ναι. 48. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀκούω Λακεδαιμονίους τότε  
 καὶ <sup>1</sup> πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους τέτταρας μῆνας ἢ πέντε, τὴν  
 ὥραίαν αὐτήν, ἐμβαλόντας ἂν καὶ κακώσαντας <sup>2</sup> τὴν τῶν  
 10 ἀντιπάλων χώραν ὀπλίταις καὶ πολιτικοῖς στρατεύμα-  
 σιν ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἴκου πάλιν. Οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως  
 εἶχον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολιτικῶς, ὥστε οὐδὲ χρημάτων ὠνεῖ-  
 σθαι παρ' οὐδενὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἶναι νόμιμόν τινα καὶ  
 προφανῇ τὸν πόλεμον. 49. Νυνὶ δ' ὁράτε μὲν δὴ-  
 15 που τὰ πλείστα τοὺς προδότας ἀπολωλεκότας, οὐδὲν δ'  
 ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης γιγνόμενον. Ἀκούετε δὲ  
 Φίλιππον οὐχὶ τῷ <sup>3</sup> φάλαγγα ὀπλιτῶν ἄγειν βαδίζουθ'  
 ὅποι βούλεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ ψιλούς, ἱππέας, τοξότας, ξέ-  
 νους, τοιοῦτον <sup>4</sup> ἐξηρτύσθαι στρατόπεδον. 50. Ἐπει-  
 20 δ' αὖν <sup>5</sup> δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πρὸς νοσοῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς προσπέσῃ  
 καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐξίῃ, μηχανή-  
 ματ' ἐπιστήσας πολιορκεῖ. Καὶ σιωπῶ θέρος καὶ χει-

<sup>1</sup> πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους Σ. Β. & S. πάντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας F. Y. Bk.

<sup>2</sup> τὴν τῶν ἀντιπάλων χώραν Bk. τὴν χώραν pr Σ. Β. & S.

<sup>3</sup> φάλαγγα Σ. Bk. B. & S. φάλαγγας cet. codd.

<sup>4</sup> ἐξηρτῆσθαι Bk. B. & S. ἐξαρτύεσθαι γρ. Σ. ἐξηρτύσθαι Voem.

<sup>5</sup> δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις Σ. Bk. B. & S. δὲ τούτοις κρατῶν Y.

μῶνα, ὥς <sup>1</sup> οὐδὲν διαφέρει, οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐξαίρετος ὥρα τις, ἣν διαλείπει. 51. Ταῦτα μέντοι πάντας εἰδότας <sup>2</sup> καὶ λογιζομένους οὐ δεῖ προσέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν χώραν, <sup>3</sup> οὐδ' εἰς τὴν εὐίθειαν τὴν τοῦ τότε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου βλέποντας ἐκτραχηλισθῆναι, ἀλλ' <sup>5</sup> ὥς ἐκ πλείστου φυλάττεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ὅπως οἴκοθεν μὴ <sup>4</sup> κινήσῃται σκοποῦντας, οὐχι συμπλακέντας διαγωνίζεσθαι. 52. Πρὸς μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον πολλὰ φύσει πλεονεκτήμαθ' <sup>5</sup> ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει, ἂν περ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ποιεῖν ἐθέλωμεν ἃ δεῖ, <sup>10</sup> ἢ φύσις τῆς ἐκείνου χώρας, <sup>6</sup> ἧς ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἔστι πολλὴν καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἄλλα μυρία. Εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκείνος ἥσκηται.

53. Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα γινώσκειν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκείνον ἀμύνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ <sup>15</sup> λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντας μισῆσαι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι οὐκ ἔνεστι <sup>7</sup> τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολύσητε ὑπηρετοῦντας ἐκείνοις. 54. Ὁ μὰ

<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲν διαφέρει Σ. Bk. B. & S. οὐδὲν αὐτῷ διαφέρει in margine rec. Υ. Ω.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ λογιζομένους οὐ δεῖ Σ. Bk. B. & S. δεῖ καὶ λογιζομένους μὴ cet. codd.

<sup>3</sup> οὐδ' εἰς Σ. Bk. B. & S. μηδ' εἰς vulg.

<sup>4</sup> κινήσῃται Σ. κινήσεται Bk. Voem. B. & S. cf. infra §§ 56, 69.

<sup>5</sup> ἡμῖν Bk. B. & S. ὑμῖν Σ.

<sup>6</sup> ἧς Bk. ἡ pr. Σ.

<sup>7</sup> τῶν τῆς Σ. Fr. B. & S. τῶν ἔξω τῆς Bk. τῶν [ἔξω] τῆς Voem. vid. Orat. de Cherson. § 61.



τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς οὐ <sup>1</sup>δυνήσεσθε ὑμεῖς  
<sup>2</sup>ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἀφίχθε μωρίας ἢ παρανοίας ἢ  
οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω (πολλάκις γὰρ ἔμοιγ' ἐπελήλυθε καὶ  
τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι, μή τι δαιμόνιον τὰ πράγματα ἐλαύνῃ),  
5 ὥστε <sup>3</sup>λοιδορίας, φθόνου, σκώμματος, ἧς τινὸς ἂν τύ-  
χητε, ἔνεκ' αἰτίας ἀνθρώπους μισθωτούς, ὧν οὐδ' ἂν  
ἀρνηθεῖεν ἔνιοι ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι, λέγειν κελεύετε,  
καὶ γελάτε, ἂν τισι λοιδορηθῶσιν. 55. Καὶ οὐχί πω  
τοῦτο δεινόν, καίπερ ὃν δεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πλείονος  
10 ἀσφαλείας πολιτεύεσθαι δεδώκατε τούτοις ἢ τοῖς ὑπὲρ  
ὑμῶν λέγουσιν. Καίτοι θεάσασθε ὅσας συμφορὰς πα-  
ρασκευάζει τὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐθέλειν ἀκροᾶσθαι. Δέξω  
δ' ἔργα ἃ πάντες εἴσεσθε.

56. Ἦσαν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τινὲς  
15 μὲν Φιλίππου καὶ πᾶνθ' ὑπηρετοῦντες ἐκείνῳ, τινὲς δ'  
<sup>4</sup>οἱ τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ ὅπως μὴ <sup>5</sup>δουλεύσωσιν οἱ πολί-  
ται πράττοντες. Πότεροι δὲ τὴν πατρίδα <sup>6</sup>ἐξώλεσαν;  
ἢ πότεροι τοὺς ἱππέας προὔδοσαν, ὧν προδοθέντων  
Ὀλυνθος ἀπώλετο; Οἱ τὰ Φιλίππου φρονοῦντες καὶ,

<sup>1</sup> δυνήσεσθε Σ. Β. & S. δύνασθε Bk.

<sup>2</sup> ποιῆσαι pr. Σ. A<sup>1</sup>. B. & S. ποιῆσαι οὐδὲ βούλεσθε Bk.

<sup>3</sup> λοιδορίας, φθόνου, σκώμματος Σ. Β. & S. λοιδ. ἢ φθόν. ἢ σκώμ Bk. Voem.

<sup>4</sup> οἱ τοῦ Σ. Β. & S. τοῦ Bk.

<sup>5</sup> δουλεύσωσιν Σ. vulg. δουλεύσουσιν Bk. Voem. B. & S. “ὅπως μὴ modo Conj. jungitur.” Vig. p. 436. cf. autem Butt. § 139, 4 et not.

<sup>6</sup> ἐξώλεσαν Σ. Bk. B. & S. ἀπώλεσαν F.

ὅτ' ἦν ἡ πόλις, τοὺς τὰ βέλτιστα λέγοντας συκοφαν-  
τοῦντες καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὕτως, ὥστε τὸν γ' Ἀπολλω-  
νίδην καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἐπείσθη.

57. Οὐ τοίνυν παρὰ τούτοις <sup>1</sup>μόνον τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο  
πάντα κακὰ εἰργάσατο, ἄλλοθι δ' οὐδαμοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν 5  
Ἐρετρίᾳ, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντος Πλουτάρχου καὶ τῶν  
ξένων ὁ δῆμος εἶχε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν Πορθμόν, οἱ μὲν  
ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἦγον τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Φίλιππον.  
Ἀκούοντες δὲ τούτων τὰ πολλά, <sup>2</sup>μᾶλλον οἱ ταλαίπω-  
ροι καὶ δυστυχεῖς Ἐρετριεῖς τελευτῶντες ἐπείσθησαν 10  
τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λέγοντας ἐκβάλλειν. 58. Καὶ γάρ  
τοι πέμψας Ἰππόνικον ὁ <sup>3</sup>σύμμαχος αὐτοῖς Φίλιππος  
καὶ ξένους χιλίους, τὰ τείχη περιείλε τοῦ Πορθμοῦ καὶ  
τρεῖς κατέστησε τυράννους, Ἰππαρχον, Αὐτομέδοντα,  
Κλείταρχον. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐξελίλακεν ἐκ τῆς χώ- 15  
ρας δις ἤδη βουλομένους <sup>4</sup>σώζεσθαι.

59. Καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἐν Ὀρεῶ  
<sup>5</sup>Φιλιστίδης μὲν ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ καὶ Μένιππος καὶ  
Σωκράτης καὶ Θόας καὶ Ἀγαπαῖος, οἵπερ νῦν ἔχουσι  
τὴν πόλιν (καὶ ταῦτ' ἦδεσαν ἅπαντες), Εὐφραῖος δέ 20  
τις, ἄνθρωπος καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ποτ' ἐνθάδε οἰκήσας, ὅπως

<sup>1</sup> μόνον Σ. Β. & S. μόνοις Bk.

<sup>2</sup> μᾶλλον Σ. μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα Bk. μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα Voem.

<sup>3</sup> σύμμαχος pr. Σ. Β. & S. σύμμαχος καὶ φίλος Bk.

<sup>4</sup> σώζεσθαι pr. Σ. Β. & S. σώζεσθαι, τότε μὲν πέμψας τοὺς μετ'  
Εἰρυνόχου ξένους. πάλιν δὲ τοῖς μετὰ Παρμενίωνος Bk. Voem.

<sup>5</sup> Φιλιστίδης Bk. Β. & S. Φιλιστείδης Σ. vulg.

ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς δοῦλοι ἔσονται. 60. Οὗτος τὰ  
 μὲν ἄλλα ὡς ὑβρίζετο καὶ προὔπηλακίζετο ὑπὸ <sup>1</sup> τοῦ  
 δήμου, πολλὰ ἂν εἴη λέγειν. Ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ πρότερον  
 τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐνέδειξεν ὡς προδότην τὸν <sup>2</sup> Φιλιστίδην καὶ  
 5 τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, αἰσθόμενος ἅ πράττουσι. Συστραφέν-  
 τες δὲ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ καὶ χορηγὸν ἔχοντες Φίλιππον  
 καὶ <sup>3</sup> πρυτανεύόμενοι, ἀπάγουσι τὸν Εὐφραῖον εἰς τὸ  
 δεσμωτήριον ὡς συνταράττοντα τὴν πόλιν. 61. Ὅρων  
 δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀρειτῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῷ μὲν βοη-  
 10 θεῖν τοὺς δ' ἀποτυμπανίσαι, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ὠργίζετο, τὸν  
 δ' <sup>4</sup> ἐπιτήδειον ταῦτα παθεῖν ἔφη καὶ ἐπέχαιρεν. Μετὰ  
 ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ὁπόσης ἠβούλουντο ἔπραττον,  
 ὅπως ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται, καὶ κατεσκευάζοντο τὴν πρᾶ-  
 ξιν. Τῶν δὲ πολλῶν εἴ τις αἴσθοιτο, ἐσίγα καὶ κατε-  
 15 πέπληκτο, τὸν Εὐφραῖον, οἷα ἔπαθε, <sup>5</sup> μεμνημένοι. Οὕ-  
 τω δ' ἀθλίως διέκειντο, ὥστε οὐ πρότερον ἐτόλμησεν  
 οὐδεὶς τοιούτου κακοῦ προσιόντος ῥῆξαι φωνήν, πρὶν  
 διασκευασάμενοι πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσήεσαν οἱ πολέ-  
 μιοι. Τηνικαῦτα δ' οἱ μὲν ἡμύνοντο, οἱ δὲ προὔδιδον.  
 20 62. Τῆς δὲ πόλεως οὕτως ἀλούσης αἰσχροῦς καὶ κακῶς  
 οἱ μὲν ἄρχουσι καὶ τυραννοῦσι, τοὺς τότε σώζοντας

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ δήμου Σ. Υ. Β. & Σ. τοῦ δήμου τοῦ τῶν Ὀρειτῶν Bk.

<sup>2</sup> Φιλιστίδην vulg. Φιλιστείδην Σ.

<sup>3</sup> πρυτανεύόμενοι, pr. Σ. Β. & Σ. πρυταν. παρ' ἐκείνου, Bk. Voem.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπιτήδειον Σ. Β. & Σ. ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι Bk.

<sup>5</sup> μεμνημένοι Σ. Β. & Σ. Rued. Funkh. Obs. crit. p. 12. μεμνη-  
 μένος Bk. Voem.

αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν Εὐφραῖον ἐτοίμους ὁτιοῦν ποιεῖν ὄντας  
 τοὺς μὲν ἐκβαλόντες τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτείναντες. Ὁ δ'  
 Εὐφραῖος ἐκεῖνος ἀπέσφαξεν ἑαυτόν, ἔργῳ μαρτυρήσας  
<sup>1</sup> ὅτι καὶ δικαίως καὶ καθαρῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνθει-  
 στήκει Φιλίππῳ.

5

63. Τί οὖν ποτ' αἴτιον, θαυμάζετ' ἴσως, <sup>2</sup> τὸ καὶ τοὺς  
 Ὀλυνθίους καὶ τοὺς Ἑρετριεῖς καὶ τοὺς Ὠρεΐτας ἥδιον  
 πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου λέγοντας ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς ὑπὲρ  
 ἑαυτῶν; ὅπερ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 βελτίστου λέγουσιν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις ἔνεστιν ἐνίοτε 10  
 πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν. Τὰ γὰρ πράγματ' ἀνάγκη  
 σκοπεῖν ὅπως σωθήσεται. Οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς χαρίζου-  
 νται Φιλίππῳ συμπράττουσιν. 64. Εἰσφέρειν ἐκέλευον,  
 οἱ δ' οὐδὲν δεῖν ἔφασαν. Πολεμεῖν καὶ μὴ πιστεύειν,  
 οἱ δ' ἄγειν εἰρήνην, ἕως <sup>3</sup> ἐγκατελήφθησαν. Τὰλλα τὸν 15  
 αὐτὸν τρόπον οἶμαι πάνθ', ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστα λέγω.  
 οἱ μὲν, ἐφ' <sup>4</sup> οἷς χαριοῦνται, ταῦτ' <sup>5</sup> ἔλεγον, οἱ δ', ἐξ ὧν  
 ἔμελλον <sup>6</sup> σωθήσεσθαι. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα  
 οὐχ οὕτως, <sup>7</sup> οὐδὲ πρὸς χάριν, <sup>7</sup> οὐδὲ δι' ἄγνοιαν οἱ πολ-  
 λοὶ <sup>8</sup> προσίεντο, ἀλλ' ὑποκατακλινόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς 20

<sup>1</sup> ὅτι καὶ Σ. Β. & S. ὅτι Bk.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ Σ. F. A<sup>1</sup>. 2. 3. B. & S. τοῦ Bk.

<sup>3</sup> ἐγκατελήφθησαν vulg. ἐγκατελείφθησαν Σ.

<sup>4</sup> οἷς Σ. Β. & S. οἷς ἥδη Bk.

<sup>5</sup> ἔλεγον Β. & S. ἔλεγον καὶ ἐλύπουν οὐδέν, A<sup>1</sup>. 2. H. Bk.

<sup>6</sup> σωθήσεσθαι, Σ. F. Υ. Ω. Β. & S. σωθήσεσθαι, προσῆσαν δ'  
 ἀπέχθεται. A<sup>1</sup>. 2. 3. Bk. haec in margine Σ. rec.

<sup>7</sup> οὐδὲ — οὐδὲ Σ. Β. & S. οὔτε — οὔτε F. οὔτε — οὔτε Bk.

<sup>8</sup> προσίεντο Σ. Β. & S. προείντο A<sup>1</sup>. 2. προίεντο Bk.



ὅλοις ἡττᾶσθαι ἐνόμιζον. 65. Ὁ νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν  
 Ἀπόλλω δέδοικα ἔγὼ μὴ πάθῃτε ὑμεῖς, ἐπειδὴν <sup>2</sup>εἰδῆτε  
<sup>3</sup>ἐκλογιζόμενοι μηδὲν <sup>4</sup>ἐν ὑμῖν ἐνόν. Καίτοι μὴ <sup>5</sup>γένοι-  
 το μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ πράγματ' ἐν τούτῳ·  
 5 τεθνάναι <sup>5</sup>δὲ μυριάκις κρεῖττον ἢ κολακεία τι ποιῆσαι  
<sup>6</sup>Φιλίππου. 66. Καλὴν γ' οἱ πολλοὶ νῦν ἀπειλίσφασιν  
 Ὀρειτῶν χάριν, ὅτι τοῖς Φιλίππου φίλοις ἐπέτρεψαν  
 αὐτούς, τὸν δ' Εὐφραῖον ἐώθουν. Καλὴν γ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ  
 Ἐρετρίεων, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους πρέσβεις ἀπῆλασε,  
 10 Κλειτάρχῳ δ' ἐνέδωκεν αὐτόν· δουλεύουσίν γε μαστι-  
 γούμενοι καὶ <sup>7</sup>σφαττόμενοι. Καλῶς Ὀλυνθίων ἐφεί-  
 σατο τῶν τὸν μὲν Λασθένη ἵππαρχον χειροτονησάντων,  
 τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλωνίδην ἐκβαλόντων. 67. Μωρία καὶ κα-  
 κία τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλπίζειν, καὶ κακῶς βουλευομένους καὶ  
 15 μηδὲν ὧν πρόσῃκει ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ  
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν λεγόντων ἀκροωμένους, τηλικαύτην ἡγεῖ-  
 σθαι πόλιν οἰκεῖν τὸ μέγεθος, ὥστε μηδ' ἂν ὀτιοῦν ἢ  
 δεινὸν πείσεσθαι. 68. Καὶ μὲν <sup>8</sup>κάκεύνό γε αἰσχρόν,  
 ὕστερόν ποτ' <sup>9</sup>εἰπεῖν “τίς γὰρ ἂν ᾤήθη ταῦτα γενέ-

<sup>1</sup> ἐγὼ Σ. Α<sup>1</sup>. 2. Η. Β. & S. ἔγωγε Bk.

<sup>2</sup> εἰδῆτε Σ. Β. & S. vulg. ἴδῃτε Υ. Α<sup>2</sup>. γρ. F. Bk. Voem.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκλογιζόμενοι Σ. Β. & S. ἐκ λογισμοῦ Bk.

<sup>4</sup> ἐν ὑμῖν Σ. Β. & S. ὑμῖν Bk. Voem.

<sup>5</sup> γένοιτο μὲν — δὲ Σ. Β. & S. γένοιτο, ὦ . . . . τεθνάναι γὰρ Bk.

<sup>6</sup> Φιλίππου Β. & S. Φιλίππου Σ. Φιλίππῳ καὶ προέσθαι τῶν  
 ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λεγόντων τινίς. Bk. Voem.

<sup>7</sup> σφαττόμενοι Σ. Β. & S. στρεβλούμενοι Bk.

<sup>8</sup> κάκεύνό Σ. Ω. Β. & S. ἐκεῖνό Bk. Voem.

<sup>9</sup> εἰπεῖν Σ. Β. & S. εἰπεῖν συμβάντος τινός Bk. Voem. Rued.

σθαι ; νὴ τὸν Δία, ἔδει γὰρ τὸ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι, καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι.” Πολλὰ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιεν Ὀλύνθιοι νῦν, ἂ

τότ’ εἰ προείδοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἀπώλοντο· πόλλ’ ἂν Ὀρεΐ-  
ται, πολλὰ Φωκεῖς, πολλὰ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἕκαστοι.

69. Ἀλλὰ τί τούτων ὄφελος αὐτοῖς ; ἕως ἂν σώζηται 5  
τὸ σκάφος, ἂν τε μείζον ἂν τ’ ἔλαττον ᾖ, τότε χρὴ καὶ  
ναύτην καὶ κυβερνήτην καὶ πάντ’ ἄνδρα ἐξῆς προθύμους  
εἶναι, καὶ ὅπως μήθ’ ἐκὼν μήτ’ ἄκων μηδεὶς <sup>1</sup> ἀνατρέψῃ,  
τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ θάλαττα ὑπέρσχη,

μάταιος ἡ σπουδή. 70. Καὶ ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες 10

Ἀθηναῖοι, ἕως ἐσμὲν σῶοι, πόλιν μεγίστην ἔχοντες,  
ἀφορμὰς πλείστας, ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον, — τί ποιῶμεν ;  
πάλαι τις ἡδέως ἂν ἴσως ἐρωτήσων κἀθηται. Ἐγὼ νὴ  
Δί’ ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δέ, ὥστε, ἂν βούλησθε, <sup>2</sup> χειροτονή-  
σετε.

71. Αὐτοὶ πρῶτον ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ παρασκευα- 15  
ζόμενοι, τριήρεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ στρατιώταις λέγω.  
Καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἅπαντες δήπου δουλεύειν συγχωρήσωσιν οἱ  
ἄλλοι, ἡμῖν γ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιστέον. Ταῦτα  
δὴ πάντα αὐτοὶ <sup>3</sup> παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ <sup>4</sup> ποιήσαντες φα-  
νερά, τοὺς ἄλλους ἤδη παρακαλῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα 20  
διδάξοντας ἐκπέμπωμεν πρέσβεις <sup>5</sup> πανταχοῖ, εἰς Πελο-

<sup>1</sup> ἀνατρέψῃ Bk. ἀνατρέψει Schaeff. B. & S. Voem. cf. supra § 56.

<sup>2</sup> χειροτονήσετε Σ. F. Υ. Ω. B. & S. χειροτονήσατε A<sup>1</sup>. 2. H. Bk. Rued. cf. Phil. I. § 30.

<sup>3</sup> παρεσκευασμένοι Σ. B. & S. παρασκευασάμενοι Bk.

<sup>4</sup> ποιήσαντες pr. Σ. B. & S. ποιήσαντες τοῖς Ἑλλησι Bk. Voem.

<sup>5</sup> πανταχοῖ Ω. Bk. πανταχοῦ vulg. πανταχοῦ, . . . καταστρέψα-

πόννησον, εἰς Ῥόδον, εἰς Χίον, ὡς βασιλέα λέγω (οὐδὲ  
 γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συμφερόντων ἀφέστηκεν τὸ μὴ τοῦτον  
 ἑᾶσαι πάντα καταστρέφασθαι), ἵν' εἰ μὲν πείσητε,  
 κοινωνοὺς ἔχητε καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων,  
 5 ἂν τι δέη, εἰ δὲ μή, χρόνους γ' ἐμποιῇτε τοῖς πράγμα-  
 σιν. 72. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ οὐχὶ συνε-  
 στώσης πόλεως ἰσχύει ὁ πόλεμος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄχρηστον,  
 οὐδ' αἱ πέρυσιν<sup>1</sup> πρεσβεῖαι περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκεί-  
 ναι καὶ κατηγορίαι, ἃς ἐγὼ καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ βέλτι-  
 10 στος ἐκείνοσιν καὶ <sup>2</sup>Ἡγήσιππος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις  
 περιήλθομεν, καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν ἐπισχεῖν ἐκείνων καὶ μήτ'  
 ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλθεῖν μήτ' ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὀρμῆσαι.  
 73. Οὐ μέντοι λέγω μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναγκαί-  
 ον ἐθέλοντας ποιεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ  
 15 εὗρηθες τὰ οἰκεία αὐτοὺς <sup>3</sup>προεμένους τῶν ἀλλοτρίων  
 φάσκειν κήδεσθαι, καὶ τὰ παρόντα περιορῶντας ὑπὲρ  
 τῶν μελλόντων τοὺς ἄλλους φοβεῖν. Οὐ λέγω ταῦτα,  
 ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἐν Χερρόνησῳ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλειν φη-  
 μι δεῖν καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσ' ἀξιοῦσι ποιεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ παρα-  
 20 σκευάζεσθαι, <sup>4</sup>τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Ἑλληνας συγκαλεῖν συν-

σθαι), in margine rec. Σ. cet. codd. πανταχοῖ . . . καταστρέψα-  
 σθαι) Bk. om. B. & S.

<sup>1</sup> πρεσβεῖαι codd. B. & S. πρεσβεῖαι αἱ Reisk. quem Bk. sequitur.

<sup>2</sup> Ἡγήσιππος Σ. Γ. Υ. Ω. B. & S. Ἡγήσιππος καὶ Κλειτόμαχος  
 καὶ Λυκούργος A<sup>1</sup>. H. Bk.

<sup>3</sup> προεμένους Σ. B. & S. προῖεμένους Bk. Rued.

<sup>4</sup> τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Ἑλληνας Σ. Γ. Υ. Ω. et alii. B. & S. Rued. καὶ  
 πρώτους ἃ χρη ποιοῦντας, τότε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας Bk.

ἀγειν διδάσκειν νουθετεῖν. Ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πόλεως ἀξίωμα  
 ἐχούσης ἡλίκου ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει. 71. Εἰ δ' οἴεσθε Χαλ-  
 κιδέας τὴν Ἑλλάδα σώσειν ἢ Μεγαρέας, ὑμεῖς δ' ἀπο-  
 δράσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴεσθε. Ἀγαπη-  
 τὸν γάρ, ἂν αὐτοὶ σώζονται τούτων ἕκαστοι. Ἄλλ' 5  
 ὑμῖν τοῦτο πρακτέον, ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τοῦτο τὸ γέρας  
 ἐκτήσαντο καὶ κατέλιπον μετὰ <sup>1</sup> πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων  
 κινδύνων. 75. Εἰ δ' ὁ βούλεται ζητῶν ἕκαστος καθε-  
 δεῖται, καὶ ὅπως μηδὲν αὐτὸς ποιήσει σκοπῶν, πρῶτον  
 μὲν <sup>2</sup> οὐδὲ μή ποθ' εὖρη τοὺς ποιήσοντας, ἔπειτα δέδοικα 10  
 ὅπως μὴ πάνθ' ἅμα, ὅσα οὐ βουλόμεθα, ποιεῖν ἡμῖν  
 ἀνάγκη <sup>3</sup> γένηται.

76. Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῦτα γράφω, καὶ  
 οἶομαι καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐπανορθωθῆναι ἂν τὰ πράγματα τού-  
 των γιγνομένων. Εἰ δέ τις ἔχει <sup>4</sup> τούτων βέλτιον, λε- 15  
 γέτω καὶ συμβουλευέτω. Ὅτι δ' ὑμῖν <sup>5</sup> δόξει, τοῦτ',  
 ὧ πάντες θεοί, <sup>6</sup> συνενέγκοι.

<sup>1</sup> πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων Bk. B. & S. πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν  
 καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων F. Y. Ω. Rued.

<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲ Σ. B. & S. οὐ Bk.

<sup>3</sup> γένηται. Ω. γενήσεται. [εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν, εὖρηντ' ἂν πάλοι ἔνεκά  
 γε τοῦ μηδὲν ἡμῶς αἰτοὺς ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν· ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσίν.] Bk. hacc  
 Rued. quoque rec., sed ita ut post ποιήσοντας ponat. F. Y. Ω. plane  
 carent.

<sup>4</sup> τούτων Σ. B. & S. τούτων τι Bk.

<sup>5</sup> δόξει Bk. B. & S. δόξηι Σ. δόξειε cet. codd.

<sup>6</sup> συνενέγκοι Bk. vulg. συνενέγκαι Rued. rec., quippe qui A<sup>1</sup>.  
 Harl. Dresd. et Y. sequatur.





# HISTORICAL INTRODUCTIONS

AND

# NOTES.



## PHILIPPIC I.

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IN the public orations of Demosthenes we possess not merely the elegant compositions of an accomplished orator ; they are also the well-considered views of a profound, practical statesman, who knows how to trace the evils under which his country is suffering back to their source, and to impart judicious counsel for their alleviation ; they are the strugglings of an honest patriot to sustain the honor and independence of his beloved native land, as well against the mischievous designs of corrupt citizens at home as the attacks and insults of a foreign foe. The study of them, therefore, includes the study of the political history of Greece in general, and of Athens in particular, during the agitated period which preceded the fall of the republic ; and the reader who aims at a proper understanding of the orator, needs not only a competent knowledge of his language, but likewise such an acquaintance with the time in which he lived, the customs, character, and condition of the people whom he addressed, and the circumstances under which each oration was pronounced, as may place him, in some degree at least, in the position of one of his hearers. It is only by means of such preparation that he can hope to appreciate the force and dignity of these masterpieces of deliberative eloquence. It cannot be expected, and probably will not be desired, that I should furnish here the particular information requisite for this purpose, for it may be



obtained from almost any of the larger histories of Greece. I shall limit myself to a brief notice of the prince against whom the Philippics were spoken, and of the leading events connected with the two wars which called them forth.

Philip was the third son of Amyntas the Second, king of Macedonia, and was born in the second year of the 99th Olympiad, B. C. 383. While still a boy he was delivered up by his father as a hostage to the Illyrians, a powerful nation of barbarians on the northwest, with whom he was frequently engaged in war. After the death of Amyntas, he was consigned to the hands of the Theban general Pelopidas, who acted as mediator between Alexander and his rival, Ptolemy. Philip, with thirty others, the sons of noble families, was carried as a hostage to Thebes, where he remained three years (or, as some authors say, nine), during which Alexander was assassinated by Ptolemy, who governed one year as regent for his nephew Perdiccas, Amyntas's second son. The latter, not long after his accession, gave battle to the Illyrians, who then occupied a considerable part of his country, and was killed and all his army destroyed. Philip, on hearing of this event, made his escape from Thebes, and returned to Macedonia, where he assumed the government, first as regent for his nephew, an infant son of Perdiccas; but, owing to the embarrassed state of the kingdom, he was soon after declared king, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and the first of the 105th Olympiad, B. C. 359.

Macedonia was as yet but a feeble and insignificant kingdom, rent by internal feuds, and harassed by hostile neighbors, from whose encroachments it with difficulty maintained its independence. Beside the Illyrians, who once even expelled Amyntas from his dominions, it had to sustain continual wars with the Pæonians and Thracians; on the east, Olynthus, standing at the head of a formidable league, seized every opportunity of increasing its territories; and the Greek colonies, which had established themselves along

the coast, cut off nearly all communication with the sea. The latter was swept by the fleets of Athens, which imposed many burdens upon the Macedonian commerce; thus exacting indirectly a tribute to that republic. Philip's embarrassments were further increased by the troubles arising out of a disputed succession; for, in addition to his nephew, who, as son of the late king, was doubtless favored by a strong party, there were two other competitors for the crown, — Pausanias, supported by Thrace, and Argæus by the Athenians, who hoped through him to get possession of Amphipolis.

By such difficulties and perils did Philip find himself encompassed as he assumed the reins of government; but, though young and inexperienced, he was not long in proving himself fully equal to the emergency. The years he passed at Thebes had been turned to good account, for, besides gaining an acquaintance with the Grecian philosophy, and such a command of the language as enabled him to write and speak it with an ease and elegance not inferior to the most practised orators of the day, he had become versed in the principles of statesmanship and war, with all the improvements effected by Epaminondas and Pelopidas, by whom these arts had been carried to the highest point that they had yet reached in Greece. Thebes was at that time the great centre of political movements, and hence the most favorable position for observing the condition, interests, and mutual relations of the Greek states, as well as the state of parties and the nature and working of republican institutions. In that school it is probable that Philip learned many of those secrets which often afterwards enabled him to conquer without drawing the sword, and acquired that knowledge of character and that address in dealing with men, and winning them for his ends, which he possessed in so eminent a degree. He was also endowed by nature with nearly every quality that could fit him for the station which he was destined to fill; — a robust frame, trained to habits

of activity and endurance, a fine person, a noble presence, that inspired respect and confidence in all who approached him; a cheerful conversation and ready eloquence, cultivated to a degree that excited admiration even in that rhetorical age; with acuteness of observation he united a discriminating judgment, fertility of invention with facility in execution; and had a singular adroitness in the management of men and things. These qualities were powerfully seconded by a rare affability, generosity, and clemency, that few who came into his presence were able to resist. But all his accomplishments and faculties of mind and body were under the control of an iron will, and always made subservient to the purposes of an insatiable and vast ambition, which aimed at nothing less than universal dominion.

Philip's first care was to secure the affections of his army, often exerting his eloquence for this purpose; and while he increased the strictness of military discipline, he conciliated his troops by his amiable condescension, and infused into them his own desire of making Macedonia first among the nations. The admiration excited by his rare talents, and the dangers which threatened the country from civil war, as well as from foreign invasion, soon turned all eyes upon him as the man upon whom the hopes of the country rested. The kingdom was apparently on the eve of dismemberment; Philip saved it. Nay, it might be justly said that he created the power of Macedonia, since to the new system of tactics introduced by him was owing the remarkable success which afterwards attended its troops. In the new organization of the army, he adopted, as we mentioned above, the improvements made in the art of war by Epaminondas, who first deviated from the received order of battle in which one line was drawn up in front of the other, and, as he is described by Xenophon, in the battle of Mantinea, advanced with the flower of his army "like a galley with threatening prow," by which he was enabled to break through the enemy's line. On a similar plan Philip constituted the



Macedonian phalanx, which was afterwards so renowned, and which continued invincible till it measured strength with the Roman legions. His allies, the Thessalians, furnished him with a body of cavalry, which in his hands became the most efficient of any that was known in ancient times. With such a disciplined and well-appointed standing army, it is not surprising that he was more than a match for the Northern barbarians, or the occasional levies of Greek militia, which at that day was too often composed of poorly paid and ill-conditioned mercenaries.

His first measures were prompt and rapid. He succeeded in buying off the Thracians, who wished to place Pausanias upon the throne, and then advanced against Mantias, whom the Athenians had sent to support Argæus with an army of three thousand men. These he met and defeated at Methone, taking a considerable number as prisoners. This victory, and the expedition into Illyria and Pæonia, in both of which he was successful, were operations of a single campaign.

Among the prisoners taken at Methone, were some of the Athenian troops. These were treated by Philip with marked liberality and kindness; for he not only restored to them their liberty, but made them presents as compensation for what they had lost; and on their return to Athens, he sent a letter to the people, in which he signified a desire to renew the friendship which had formerly subsisted between his father and the republic, at the same time hinting his willingness to see Amphipolis reduced under their dominion. This city had long been anxiously coveted by the Athenians, not only as a military post, but as a place from which they could obtain a plentiful supply of timber for their navy; for the latter reason particularly, its possession was so important, that there was hardly any price at which they would not have been willing to purchase it. Philip's letter, therefore, gave them great satisfaction; and, conciliated by his friendly professions, and the prospect of



so easily obtaining their object, they concluded a treaty of peace with him, without any express stipulation in regard to Amphipolis. He had, however, no real intention of resigning so important a town to Athens, and still less to the Olynthians, who likewise were desirous of obtaining it. He first declared it independent, but not long after seized a pretext for hostilities, and made preparations for reducing it. The Olynthians, becoming alarmed at the prospect of losing it, solicited the Athenians to aid them in defending the place in which they had a common interest ; but Philip found means to prevent a coalition, by persuading the Athenians that he had no intention of keeping Amphipolis, but that when he had taken it he would restore it to them. In return for this, the Athenians, as we learn from a fragment of Theopompus, had secretly promised to put him in possession of Pydna, a city on the coast, then belonging to their alliance. He likewise purchased the acquiescence of Olynthus, by ceding to it the town of Anthemus ; and being thus free to contend single-handed with Amphipolis, he proceeded to lay siege to it. The inhabitants in their distress, sent to implore the aid of the Athenians, offering to surrender the city into their hands ; but that people, depending on Philip's good faith, and perhaps preferring to acquire by an amicable exchange what might otherwise involve them in war with him, paid no regard to the application. Philip took the city by assault, aided, as Demosthenes asserts, by the treachery of his partisans within the walls. He immediately marched against Pydna, which, either through terror or treachery, opened its gates to him. Philip considered himself as no longer bound by his promise in relation to Amphipolis ; and the resentment produced at Athens by his duplicity and the loss of the two cities gave rise to hostilities that continued for many years, called, from their origin, the Amphipolitan War.

In the mean time troubles had arisen in another quarter, which strongly claimed the attention of Athens. The in-

habitants of Byzantium, those of Rhodes and of some other islands belonging to her confederacy, had, at the instigation of Mausolus, the prince of Caria, leagued themselves together and raised the standard of revolt. Originating out of the oppressive exactions which Athens permitted her generals to make, this war with her allies proved most disastrous to her, since by it she lost much of her naval importance, and three of her most celebrated generals, Chabrias, Timotheus, and Iphicrates. After a violent yet unavailing contest of three years, she was glad to make peace with the rebellious states and to acknowledge their independence.

Of these difficulties of his most formidable enemy, Philip had taken advantage, in order to strengthen his power by alliance and conquest. In particular he had obtained a firm footing in Thessaly, and had secured the gratitude and firm friendship of several cities, which he had aided in expelling tyrants from them. He was thus ready to secure the first favorable opportunity that might offer, of interfering in the quarrels of the Grecian states, now enfeebled by their contests for the supremacy, and separated more than ever by mutual hatred and jealousy. Such an occasion was afforded by the breaking out of the Phocian, or Sacred, War. The immediate cause of it was this. The Phocians had converted to their use certain fields consecrated to the Delphian temple, for which they were arraigned for sacrilege before the Council of Amphictyons, and condemned to pay an exorbitant fine, far exceeding their ability. In default of payment, the Thebans and Locrians, as their nearest neighbors, were charged with inflicting vengeance on behalf of the offended divinity. The Phocians determined to defend themselves, and took forcible possession of the temple, employing its treasures for the purpose of raising and supporting an army. The consequences of this measure were pernicious to a degree altogether incalculable; a beginning of the profanation of the sacred offerings once made, the Phocian leaders observed no limit, and soon began to regard

the temple as itself a mine, from which they might supply their extravagances without fear of ever being able to exhaust it. According to Diodorus, more than ten thousand talents were put into circulation in the course of a few years. When we consider that this vast amount of precious metals was concentrated within a narrow space, we cannot be surprised at the sudden and terrible revolution which it caused in all the relations of society; the rapid decline in the morals of the masses, the decay of religious feeling, the almost total extinction of patriotism, and in their stead the prevalence of personal passions, bribery, and the love of pleasure, which prepared and led the way, at length to a transition from republican to monarchical government. By the means above stated, the Phocians were enabled to prolong the contest, in which nearly all the Grecian states were by degrees incited to take part. On the side of the Thebans were the Locrians, Thessalians, Perrhæbians, Dolopians, Achæans, Phthiotans, Magnesians, and others; whilst the Phocians were favored by the Athenians, by the Lacedæmonians, and several other Peloponnesian cities.

The powers were about evenly balanced, and no very decided advantage had been gained by either side, when, in the third year of the war, the adversaries of Phocis were strengthened by the accession of a new ally. In the fourth year of the 106th Olympiad, B. C. 353, Philip was invited the second time by the Thessalians to aid in expelling Lycophron, the tyrant of Pheræ, who, at the news of his approach, sent to implore the help of the Phocians. Onomarchus, the commander of the latter, first sent his brother Phayllus with seven thousand men into Thessaly for that purpose; but upon his defeat, he determined to march with all his forces to the relief of Lycophron. Philip was beaten in two engagements, and compelled to retreat into Macedonia; returning, however, not long after, with a more numerous army, he routed the Phocians, killing their leader, and taking a large number of prisoners. Having thus be-



come master of the whole of Thessaly, he hastily settled its affairs, and began his march to the south with the design of entering Phocis by way of Thermopylæ. The Athenians, receiving intimation of this movement promptly sent a fleet into the Malian Gulf, so that when Philip arrived at the pass, he found it strongly guarded. Thus finding himself foiled, he was forced to abandon his plan for the present, and returned into Macedonia.

Previous to this expedition also, Philip had gained some important acquisitions to his dominion along the northern shores of the Ægean. Not long after the capture of Amphipolis, he besieged and took Potidæa, a colony of Athens; then Methone, which succumbed only after a long siege, and which he treated with great severity, razing the city to the ground, selling the inhabitants as slaves, and dividing their lands among the Macedonians. Thence descending into Thessaly, as above stated, he got possession of Pheræ, Pagasæ, and Magnesia. He had committed also several bold aggressions upon the possessions of Athens in the Ægean; such as plundering the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, seizing the fleet at Geræstos, on the coast of Eubœa, and carrying off the sacred trireme from Marathon. These expeditions usually were either made at seasons of the year when the Athenians were unable to sail towards the north, or were executed so promptly that the armaments, from the accustomed tardiness of preparation, arrived too late to prevent the injury. When Philip, therefore, attempted to lead his army through the pass of Thermopylæ, little doubt could remain in the minds of the people of Athens about his ultimate intentions. What would he do, after finishing the Phocian war, but march his army into Attica and attack them on their own ground? They had all along despised Philip as an upstart, from whom little real danger was to be apprehended. But now they began to be seriously alarmed; Philip's enterprises and probable intentions were often the topic of discussion in the public assembly; the



orators and demagogues were loud in their invectives against his desire of aggrandizement and crafty duplicity, but no effective measures were employed to check him in his victorious career.

Libanius informs us, in his Argument to the First Philippic, that the Athenians had convened in public assembly, disheartened by their ill success in the war. Then Demosthenes, who had but recently begun to take part in the public deliberations, rises for the purpose of combating this discouragement, and urging the necessity of more vigorous action than had hitherto been employed. He maintains that the present bad condition of public affairs, so far from justifying despondency, offered the best ground of hope for the future, for the reason that they had not yet exerted themselves as their exigencies required. That they had been in positions of greater difficulty in their contests with the Lacedæmonians, and had extricated themselves by self-reliance and strenuous exertion; likewise now, though Philip had become formidable by his numerous army, and had by his conquests surrounded his land by a strong hedge of fortifications, they might still hope, by proper attention to their duty, to retrieve their losses and punish his insolence. They should not stand in awe of him as of a god whose power was for ever secured to him; he had grown great less by his own strength than by their negligence; and since he was insatiable and continually grasping for more in all directions, their honor, as well as their safety, demanded that they should hold themselves ready to oppose him by all the means in their power. The orator proposes in the first place to raise a force of two thousand foot and five hundred horse, of whom at least one-fourth should be citizens; that these, attended by a suitable convoy of vessels of war, should be sent to hover about the Macedonian coast, and constantly harass Philip in every possible manner. That they could find harbors and winter quarters in the neighboring islands, and thus be prepared at all seasons to

prevent his hostile cruises, or to render assistance where it should be necessary. Beside this, they should hold in readiness fifty vessels, and be resolved to embark in person at the first emergency. By such means only could they hope to put a stop to his ravages, and keep the war at a distance from Attica; otherwise, if they persisted in sitting idle at home, amusing themselves with pomps and shows, without an organized plan of defence, they must ere long expect to sustain an attack from Philip on their own territory. The annual expense of this armament is estimated at ninety-two talents.

The plan submitted by Demosthenes was carefully matured; such a blockade of the Macedonian posts by a standing force, which should be on the watch for favorable opportunities of attack, and reinforced, in case of need, by a large fleet, was undoubtedly the surest means of keeping Philip within his own boundaries, and guarding the Athenians and their allies from his incursions. That his advice, however, was not followed, at least in the energetic manner recommended, may be inferred from the fact that the following years exhibit no material change in the position of Athens towards the king, as likewise from some passages contained in the Third Olynthiac, delivered in the fourth year of the 107th Olympiad, B. C. 349, about three years after the First Philippic.

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§ 1. *Εἰ μὲν περὶ ταυτοῦ . . . προὔτιθετο*, *If it had been proposed to deliberate upon some new subject*, etc. Several days before the ordinary meeting of the Athenian assembly (*ἐκκλησία ἐκκλησία*), notice was given, by means of a card or programme, on what day the meeting would be held, and what business would be brought before it. The author of

the *Rhetor. Lex.* in BEKKER's *Anecd.* I. p. 296, says that this notice was put up five days before the meeting. It consisted of a wooden board (σάρις) coated with plaster, upon which the necessary information was written. ULPIAN *ad Phil.* I. 33, and SCHOEMANN *de Comitibus Atheniensium*, p. 59. Προτιθέναι was also employed in a more special sense; as λόγον or γνώμας προτιθέναι, said of the Proedri, when they proposed a subject for discussion (*sententias dicendi potestatem facere*). SCHOEM. *de Comit. Ath.* p. 104.

Εἰ μὲν . . . ἐπισχὼν ἄν. In conditional sentences which relate to something past, εἰ with the imperfect, followed by ἄν with the aorist, indicates a condition continued, or often repeated, upon which the latter, as a consequence, depends. Both, then, correspond to the Latin pluperfect subjunctive. ΜΑΤΤΗ. *Gr. Gr.* § 508. b. The participle with ἄν is often used instead of the finite verbal form. HERMANN *ad VIGER. de Idiotism. Gr.* p. 336. In such case, however, the verb εἶναι is to be understood, as HERM. contends, pp. 770 and 776. WOLF renders, *expectassem, dum plurimi eorum, qui solent, sententias dixissent*. Cf. VIGER. p. 483.

τῶν εἰσθότων. Supply γνώμην ἀποφίνασθαι or as ISOCRAT. *Archidam.* § 1, Ἐγὼ δ', εἰ μὲν τις ἄλλος τῶν εἰθισμένων ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγορεύειν ἀξίως ἦν τῆς πόλεως εἰρηκώς, ἰσχυρία ἂν ἵχοιτο. Demosthenes alludes to the old statesmen who usually took the lead in public deliberations, and whose injudicious counsels had brought the republic into danger. Cf. *Olynth.* III. § 27. According to a law instituted by Solon, those were first invited to speak who had passed their fiftieth year. This was done by the herald, who opened the discussion in the following form: Τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγορότων; After these, any citizen had the right to speak who was not politically disqualified. This law had, however, fallen very much into disuse, and it often happened that young men, who had scarcely passed the period of youth, but possessing unusual talents and confident loquacity, ascended the speaker's tribune. SCHOEM. *de*



*Comit. Ath.* p. 105. Much deference was, however, still paid to the senior orators. Cf. *Schol. ad Phil.* I. p. 42, REISKE's ed. For this reason Demosthenes deems it fitting to apologize for rising first, which he does in a manner well calculated to find favor with his audience, and conciliate their attention for what he has to propose.

*ἀποφαίρεσθαι γνώμην*, to manifest one's opinion, to set forth in words.

*ὑπὲρ ὧν*. An abbreviated expression for *ὑπὲρ τούτων ὑπὲρ ὧν*. BEKKER has retained the vulg. *περί*, but the former is found in the Codex Σ and several of the best manuscripts. The distinction between *περί* and *ὑπὲρ* had begun to be much neglected in the time of Demosthenes, who himself did not always observe it. For example, *Orat. de Corona*, § 17, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης. *Olynth.* II. § 1, or in *Mid.* § 24, τοὺς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τούτων λόγους, &c. &c.

*νυνί* is more definite than *νῦν*, which is joined not only with the present, but also with the preterite and future. VIGER. p. 425. *νυνί* signifies the immediate present. F. A. WOLF, *ad Lept.* p. 242.

*οὔτοι*, the other orators.

καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς. Καὶ in the sense of *although*, as in *Orat. de Corona*, § 41, καὶ τούτων, *obwohl*, *although*, ВОЕСКН. — *Ἀναστὰς*: the most frequent expressions applied to those who rose to speak were, ἀνίστασθαι, παρίεναι ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος; the orators were sometimes called simply οἱ παριόντες. SCHOEM. *de Com. Ath.* p. 106. Cf. *Orat. de Cor.* § 171. WOLF renders, *arbitror me, tametsi primus surrexerim, jure tamen veniam impetraturum*. SCHAEFER (*Apparat. crit. ad Dem.*) prefers to omit ἄν, because the orator does not speak here hypothetically, but confidently. But ἄν lends modesty to his confidence, and should therefore be retained.

ἐκ τοῦ παρελελυθότος χρόνου, *inde a tempore superiore et per illud*. RUEDIGER. *Phil.* III. § 5, τὸ χεῖριστον ἐν τοῖς παρελελυθόσι. Some regard the expression as adverbial, like



the phrases ἐκ νῦντὸς instead of ἐν νῦντί; ἐκ παλαιόν, olim; ἐκ τοῦ παραχοῖμα, etc. VIGER. p. 598. The phrase occurs again below. The preposition ἐκ has the double sense of *since*, and of continuing *within* a space of time. Cf. BERNHARDY *Gr. Syntax*, p. 226.

§ 2. οὐδ', *ne quidem*. VIGER. p. 466. Cf. *Olynth. I.* § 11, οὐδ' εἰ συνέβη.

"Ο γὰρ . . . βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. The sense is, The worst circumstance in our past experience affords the best ground of hope for the future; that is, the correction of our errors will be the surest guide to better fortunes. Similarly LORD BACON, *Nov. Organ. I. Aph.* 94; "Sequitur ratio omnium maxima ad faciendam spem, nempe ex erroribus temporis præteriti et viarum adhuc tentatarum. Sed cum rerum vestrarum status non a vi ipsa rerum sed ab erroribus vestris male se habeat; sperandum est, illis erroribus missis aut correctis, magnam rerum in melius mutationem fieri posse." Also LUCCHESINI (*Annotationes Historicæ*, Romæ, 1712), praising our orator's delicate skill in combining encouragement with censure, remarks that nothing so much arouses those who are embarrassed and discouraged as to show that they have fallen into misfortune by their own fault, and that the remedy lies in their own power. How much cause the Athenians had for alarm is described below, § 4. The pronoun αὐτῶν is to be referred to πράγμασιν.

ὅτι οὐδὲν, &c. λ., is the answer to the question. Concerning the force of the oratorical question and answer, see CIC. *de Orat.* III. 54. 207. Construe in this order: ὅτι τὰ πράγματα κακῶς ἔχει, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑμῶν ποιοῦντων οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων. The part. ποιοῦντων denotes the cause and may be rendered: *on account of your doing nothing*, &c.

Ἐπεὶ τοι, *nam profecto*, *denn wahrhaftig*. VIGER. p. 785. *πραττόντων*, sc. ὑμῶν.

§ 3. Ἐπεὶ corresponds to *πρῶτον μὲν*. ἐνθυμητόν, sc. ὑμῶν. The verbal joined with the dative of the person. MARTH. *Gr.* § 447, Obs. 4. VOEMEL:

“Deinde considerare vos oportet et juniores, qui ab aliis audivistis, et seniores, qui ipsi nostis in memoriam revocantes.”

ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολὺς, sc. ἐστὶ. *Es ist noch nicht lange her.* FRANZ. ISOC. πρὸς Φίλιππον, p. 338, ed AUGER, οὗτοι [οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι] μὲν γὰρ ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἦλθον. PLAT. *Rep.* V., οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ. THUC. I. 6. The substantive verb is everywhere omitted, and these expressions assume the force of adverbial phrases. In this passage, render, *not long ago*.

ὡς καλῶς καὶ προσηγόρως, κ. τ. λ., “quam præclare et decore nihil urbe indignum admiseritis, sed pro defensione juris bellum contra illos sustinueritis.” H. WOLF. The Lacedæmonians reached the height of their power about the first year of the 100th Olympiad, B. C. 376, when, at the close of the successful war with the Olynthians, they became the masters of all Greece. WINIEWSKI, p. 23. From this time, however, their fortunes began to decline, through the alienation produced by their odious exercise of power upon their allies. During the whole time of their supremacy, indeed, their conduct had been marked by overbearing insolence and insatiable ambition (φύσει φιλαρχοῦντες καὶ πολεμικοὶ ταῖς αἰρέσεσιν ὄντες, DIOD. SIC.), which had several times excited to resistance and open war. In these conflicts, as well as in the Bœotian war, which arose in the third year of the 100th Olympiad, B. C. 378, in consequence of the unjust seizure of the citadel of Thebes by the Lacedæmonians, and their barbarities towards the Bœotian cities, the Athenians had borne an important part, and inflicted many heavy losses upon them. This was particularly the case at the battle of Naxos (4th year of the 100th Olymp.), in which the Spartans were totally routed, and their naval power annihilated, by the Athenians under Chabrias. See JACOBS, *Anm.* p. 146. In the peace which was effected not long after, through the mediation of the

king of Persia, the Grecian cities recovered their independence. XEN. *Hellen.* VI. 3. 18. WINIEWSKI, p. 25. Demosthenes could therefore maintain with truth that Athens had taken a stand against the encroachments of Lacedæmon from a love of justice and a disinterested care for the liberties of Greece. Cf. *Phil.* III. § 24. These events had probably occurred within the memory of many of his hearers.

ἴν' εἰδῆτε . . . καὶ θεάσῃσθε, *in order that you may know and see, as it were with your eyes.* Demosthenes is very fond of coupling together synonymes of this sort, by a species of rhetorical amplification, particularly words conveying the notion of *knowing, considering, judging*, and in general such words as signify an operation of the mind. *Olynth.* II. 6, θεωρῶν καὶ σκοπῶν. *Olynth.* I. 14, ἴνα γνῶτε . . . καὶ αἰσθησθε. *Or. de Cherson.* § 18, Ἄρ' ὁρᾶτε καὶ λογίσεσθε, κ. τ. λ. Cf. SCHAEFER, *App. crit. ad Dem.* p. 321.

οὔτ', ἂν ὀλιγοῦντε, κ. τ. λ. *Nor, if you neglect it, will anything turn out as you wish.* The optative βούλοισθε, instead of the subjunctive βούλησθε of BEK., vulg. βούλεσθε VOEMEL, in his first ed., 1829, βούλησθε; but recently, Paris ed., 1843, he has adopted the optative.

παραδείγμασι χρῶμενοι. Isoc. in *Archidam.* p. 38, ed. AUGER, πολλοῖς ἂν τις παραδείγμασι χρήσαιο.

τούτου, i. e. Philip. SAUPPE proposes ὕβρει τῇ τούτου.

ὧν ἐχοῖν. The full form would be τούτων ὧν γροντίξεν ἐχοῖν. — ἐκ denotes the cause, and is thus rendered by H. WOLF: *quia nihil eorum, quæ curanda erant, curavimus.*

§ 4. πλῆθος τῆς . . . δυνάμεως. At the battle with Onomarchus, in Thessaly, the year before this oration was delivered, Philip commanded more than 20,000 foot, and 3,000 Thessalian horse beside his fleet. VOEMEL.

Pydna, situated in the eastern part of Macedonia, near the coast of the Sinus Thermaicus, was, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, under the sway of Macedonia. THUC.



I. 61. Revolting to the Athenians, it was again reduced to obedience by Archelaus, king of Macedon, in the third year of the 92d Olympiad, B. C. 410. It was afterwards taken by Conon, or, as some say, Timotheos, the son of Conon, and remained in the hands of the Athenians till occupied by Philip, in the third year of the 105th Olympiad, B. C. 358. LUCCHESINI, *Annot. Hist.* pp. 241 - 244. WINIEWSKI, p. 41, seqq.

Potidæa was situated sixty stadia from Olynthus, on the isthmus of Pallene; it was originally a colony of the Corinthians, but in the Peloponnesian war it was a tributary of Athens. According to Plutarch it was reduced and taken by Philip the year in which Alexander the Great was born, in the first year of the 106th Olympiad, B. C. 356. WINIEWSKI, p. 43.

Methone was conquered some time after the cities just mentioned, viz. in the fourth year of the 106th Olympiad, B. C. 353. It lay at the extreme end of the Bay of Thermes, on the borders of Macedonia, and stood in alliance with Athens. It was during this siege, which lasted about a year, that Philip lost an eye, struck by an arrow from the beleaguered city. DIOD. SIC. XVI. 34. LUCCHESINI, p. 245. WINIEWSKI, p. 47.

οἰζεῖτορ, when used in connection with ἔχειν expresses an intimate relation existing between the parties in question.

ζύγληρ to be joined with τόπον: and that whole region around.

πολλὰ τῶν . . . ἑθρῶν, viz. the Thessalians, Illyrians, Pæonians, and other nations of Macedonia and Thrace. Cf. *Olynth.* I. 23.

μετ' ἐξείρου ἡμῶν ὄντων. Εἶραι μετὰ τινος, a partibus alicujus stare, facere cum aliquo domi bellicque. SAUPPE. Mit einem und seiner Partei sein. BERNH. Gr. Synt. p. 254.

᾽ζεῖρορ. The attic prose-writers carefully avoided the Ionic form of this pronoun, ζεῖρος, and wrote either ἐζεῖρος or ᾽ζεῖρος. See SCHNEIDER *ad Plat. Civ.* I. p. 154. DINDORF, *Pref. ad Dem.* p. iii.



§ 5. ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας. *Die Bollwerke seines Landes.* JACOBS. The expression τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας is equivalent to ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν. Strongholds from which they might make inroads into Macedonia. A similar instance of this objective species of genitive is found in DEMOSTH. *Orat. pro Lib. Rhod.*, τῆς δ' αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιτειχίσμα πρὸς τὸ μὴδ' ὅτιοῦν παρακινεῖν, *sed sui regni velut arcem esse, ne quid novi ea moliat.* WOLF. Also *Or. de Cor.* § 71; *de Cherson.* § 66, κατὰσκευάζοντο; ὑμῖν ἐπιτειχίσμα τὴν Εὐβοίαν; and cf. HARPOCRAT. s. v.

ἐρημὸν ὄρτα (sc. Φίλιππον). These accusatives are to be joined with πολεμεῖν.

ἄθλα . . . . κείμεν' ἐν μέσῳ. A metaphor taken from the palæstra, where the prizes to be contended for were exhibited. So HEROD. VIII. 26, ὃ τι τὸ ἄθλον εἶη σφι κείμενον, περὶ ὅτου ἀγωνίζονται. XEN. *Cyr.* II. 3, τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων ἀγαθὰ πάντα τοῖς νικῶσιν αἰεὶ ἄθλα προzeῖται. This may have given rise to our proverb, *To the victor belong the spoils of the vanquished.*

φύσει δ' ἐπάσχει. WOLF: *et naturam ita ferre, ut opibus absentium præsentis et qui laborare periclitarique velint possessionibus negligentium potiantur.*

§ 6. Καὶ γὰρ τοι. *Etenim sane, etenim profecto.* VIGER. p. 531.

τὰ μὲν . . . . τὰ δὲ, sc. χωρία.

προσέχειν τὸν ροῦν. This expression sometimes, as in this instance, signifies, *to take sides with one, to espouse one's cause.* Olynth. II. § 13, εἶπερ τις ὑμῖν προσέξει τὸν ροῦν. THUC. II. 11, uses this verb with τὴν γνώμην. Sometimes it is found with neither. *Phil.* III. § 20. JACOBS: *denn jedermann neigt sich zum Bunde mit dem hin, der immer bereit und gerüstet ist, das was geschehen muss, zu thun.* A similar sentiment is found in XEN. *Laced. Repub.* IX. 2, καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν πῶς πάντες τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς βούλονται.

§ 7. ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης γερέσθαι γνώμης, *to embrace such an opinion.* Quoted by VIGER. p. 228, *in ea opinione versari.*

ἐπειδήτις does not differ in use from ἐπείπερ, and is said of something certain and undeniable.

οὐ δαί ναὶ δόρατ' ἄρ, *where he ought and can make himself useful to the city.* An unusual connection of an impersonal with a personal verb. It is true that the active voice was sometimes used personally, especially by later writers, but always in the sense of *to want, to lack.* DEM. *contr. Aristocr.* § 136, ὀλίγον δέω λέγειν. Observe also the difference in the mood, concerning which BREMI well observes: *Illud in indicativo, hoc in optativo, quoniam quod est officium certum est et fixum, ea autem quæ fieri possunt incerta et vix constituenda.*

εἰσφορταί, *evasion, tergiversation.* Many persons, who lacked the will to serve their country, pretended they had not the means, and sought to shift their duties upon others. *Schol. ed. REISKE, p. 44.*

πράττειν is employed in the general sense *to act*, but emphatically, in opposition to the want of energy and public spirit which our orator so frequently castigates. He proceeds to explain his meaning more particularly, viz. that the wealthy should hold themselves in readiness to contribute, and the able-bodied to enter the service.

Εἰσφορεῖν χρήματα, εἰσφορεῖν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, are political expressions, signifying *the payment of an extraordinary tax on property to cover a deficit in the public treasury.* The εἰσφορά was rarely levied except in cases of serious embarrassment, either to raise money for the payment of soldiers, or to replace the sums spent in war which had been taken from the ordinary government fund, which was supplied from the regular revenue. The εἰσφορά was paid by every person without distinction, according to the assessment of his property. BOECKH, *Staatshaushalt. d. Ath.* I. 481, and II. 4. F. A. WOLF, *Proleg. ad Lept.* p. 94. WACHSMUTH, *Gr. Antiq.* II. p. 136. SCHOEM. *de Comit. Ath.* p. 290.

ὁ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, that is, στρατεύσιμος, or μάχιμος ἡλικία Not youth, as this word generally signifies, but *the age during*

which the Athenians were liable to military service, which reached from the twentieth to the sixtieth year. After this a man was said to be ὑπὲρ τὸν κατέλογον, or ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας, *past the military age*. The citizens were enrolled in their eighteenth year, but for two years they served as a standing guard in the country, and were called περίπολοι. LESSING, *Leben d. Sophocles*. VOEMEL *ad Olynth.* III. 4. Cf. *infra*, § 21.

συνελόντι δ' ἀπλῶς, sc. εἰπεῖν, *in short*. HESYCHIUS, συντόμῳς. SCHAEF.: *ut breviter et simpliciter dicam*. Vulg. εἰπεῖν, which BEKKER retained in his first edition, 1816, but afterwards rejected as a gloss. KRUEGER and RUEDIGER prefer to omit ἀπλῶς.

ἑμῶν αὐτῶν . . . γενέσθαι, *to become your own masters, independent*. See VIGER. p. 230.

αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἕκαστος . . . πλησίον. The order of construction is, ἕκαστος ἐπιζῶν αὐτὸς μὲν ποιήσειν οὐδὲν, τὸν δὲ πλησίον πράξειν πάνθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. The accusative πλησίον is used because the subject is changed. — ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ: I prefer the reflexive pronoun instead of the vulg. αὐτοῦ (retained by BEK. and VOEM.), for Demosthenes is speaking of the thoughts of his dilatory hearers. This reading is also supported by a similar passage in *Phil.* III. § 73, αὐτοῦς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον ἐθέλοντας ποιεῖν.

καὶ τὰ ἑμέτερόν αὐτῶν κομεισθε, *you will both recover your own*, viz. Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidæa, &c.

τὰ κατεφθάρημενά, i. e. the influence and power lost through neglect, διὰ ῥαθυμίας προσιμένα ὑφ' ἑμῶν. WOLF. Cf. WACHSMUTH, *Gr. Antiq.* Vol. I. Part II. p. 354.

§ 8. πεπηγῆναι. 2d perf. act. inf. of πήγνυμι, used like a passive, *fix, confirm*.

ἀθρόατα. Per prolepsin additum: *ut æterna sint*. FRANKE. The sense is, *For do not suppose that Philip's present power is secured to him for ever as to a god; on the contrary, he is hated, and dreaded, and envied, even by some of those (sc. allies) who appear now to be on the most friendly terms with him.*



ὅσα περ. The suffix *περ*, like our *ever*, serves to extend the idea indefinitely. The orator reasons from the general principals of human nature, that Philip's allies are actuated by the same feelings and passions as other men. SCHAEF. prefers to read *οἷσσιον*, instead of *τισίν*. *ἐν* is for *ἐνέστι*.

πάντα ταῦτα. The neuter is sometimes employed in reference to persons; in such cases, however, individuals are not so much considered as their general character and condition. Thus, XEN. *Æcon.* 6. 13, after mentioning several classes of artists, τέκτονας, χαλκείας, &c. &c., has τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα. Cf. THUC. I. 18. BERNHARDY, *Gr. Synt.* p. 281.

ἀποστροφὴν. Harpocration explains by καταγνήν. THUC. VIII. 75, ἀποστροφὴν σωτηρίας.

§ 9. οἱ . . . ἀσελγείας. Adverbs of degree, like those of place, govern the genitive. Cf. DEM. in *Mid.* § 17, οὐδ' ἔρταυθ' ἔστι τῆς ὑβρεως. SOPH. *Æd. Tyr.* 367, ὁρᾷν, ἴν' εἰ κακοῦ. Render, *For you see, O men of Athens, to what an extent of insolence the man has gone, etc.*

μέρειν ἐπὶ τούτων. The expression μέρειν ἐπὶ τιος signifies, *to be satisfied with something and to go no farther*. In *Or. de Cherson.* § 47, μέρειν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ means, *to remain upon his own territory*. Cf. *Or. de Corona*, § 307. WOLF: *sed minitatur et verba superba, ut aiunt, usurpat et non potest iis habendis, quæ subegit, contentus esse, sed semper plura molitur, et circum undique nos cunctantes et desidentes irretit.*

περὸς περιβάλλεται, *er greift immer weiter um sich*. JACOBS.

περιστοιχίζεται. A metaphor drawn from the chase. The hunters, says HARPOCRAT., were accustomed to plant wooden posts (στίχους στοίχους) around the haunts of wild beasts at the points of egress, to which they attached nets, so that if the animals escaped their weapons they might fall into the snare.

§ 10. ἐπειδὴν τί γένηται; Lit. *when what has happened?* Haec verba ita explico: ἐπειδὴν γένηται τι· τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστίν; has duas enuntiationes in unam conglutinavit orator. KRUEGER affert PLAT. *Alcib.* I. 8, ὅταν οὖν περὶ τίος βουλευῶνται;



Νῦν δὲ τί . . . ἡγεῖσθαι ; REISKE supplies εἰ μὴ ἀνάγκη, i. e. *What are we to think of those things which are now occurring [if not as matters of necessity] ?*

τοῖς ἐλευθέροις. So also DEM. Or. de Chers. § 51, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ μέγιστη ἀνάγκη ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν γιγνομένων αἰσχύνῃ . . . δούλῳ δὲ πλεοναὶ καὶ ὁ τοῦ σώματος αἰσισμός.

εἰπέ μοι. The rhetorical use of the singular instead of the plural originated in the Grecian peculiarity of contemplating the multitude as a single person. The form is one of earnest exhortation, and greatly heightens the force of the question. See BERNHARDY, *Gr. Synt.* p. 419. *Schol.* p. 45, δέον εἰπεῖν, εἴπατε.

περιόντες, viz. *in the forum.*

αὐτῶν. LONGIN. de *Subl.* c. 18, quoting this passage, has ἀλλήλων, which is a gloss. The older editions have κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν after πυνθάνεσθαι, which BEK. incloses in brackets. Cod. Σ has these words in the margin. The idle curiosity which our orator here ridicules is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, xvii. 21. “For all the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing.”

γένοιτο γάρ. γάρ is frequently used in questions, where there is nothing in the sense of *therefore, igitur*, denoting the reason, in the preceding or following words to which it may be referred. HERMANN contends, (ARISTOPH. *Nub.* v. 192), that this is not necessary, for every question is of such a nature that it may admit of γάρ in the same manner as the Romans used *nam, quisnam, ubinam, or nam quis, nam ubi*, etc. In every question this can be understood; *I am uncertain, or I wonder, or tell me*; by which the cause or reason is indicated, and hence γάρ or *nam* properly follows in the question. Cf. HERM. l. c. and *Phil.* III. 68.

Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ. The Greeks regarded the Macedonians with great contempt, not only denying their claim to Grecian origin, but placing them in the lowest class of barbarians. *Phil.* III. § 31 LUCCHESINI pertinently re-

marks : " Magna huic sententiæ vis est atque ad excitandos animos potentissima ; simul enim ante oculis ponit, qui dudum fuerit Macedonum status, quique Atheniensium. Macedones enim paucis ante annis, nempe anno I. Ol. CIV. cum Philippus regni habenas moderandas suscepit, pavidi, victi, sordidati ; Athenienses imperio, dignitate, viribus florentes ; adeo ut quinque aut sex annorum intervallo tantam fortunæ commutationem nemo sibi persuadere potuisset."

διοικῶν. See *Phil.* III. 27.

§ 11. ἀλλ' ὁσπερεῖ. Demosthenes relates in *Olynth.* III. § 4 (held in Olymp. 107, 4), that while Philip was on his expedition to Thrace, the news came to Athens that he had besieged Heræum (*Ἡραῖον τεῖχος*), an Athenian castle. Whereupon the people, after much blustering and confusion, voted to send a large force to its relief ; but after a delay of several months, only ten empty vessels and five talents were despatched. For in the meantime a report had come that Philip was sick or dead, in consequence of which the Athenians, thinking that all danger was past, remanded the fleet. The orator, here, therefore, speaks of an event which had recently happened. Cf. WINIEWSKI, *Com. Hist. et Chron. de Cor.* p. 62, and BRUCKNER, *K. Philip.* 57. VOEMEL, however, refers this passage to the sickness caused by the wound which Philip had received at the siege of Methone. Cf. supra ad § 4 ; also JACOBS, *Ann.* IX. p. 149.

τι πάθῃ. A softened expression for θάρῃ, similar to the Latin : *si quid humanitus acciderit*, etc. VIGER. p. 278.

ἄρτερό οὔτω. *Siquidem sic ;* that is, *if you should pay so little attention to public affairs.*

ἐπιβήσεται . . . ἡμετέρας ἀμύλλαις. In like manner, DEM. *Olynth.* III. § 28, says : " Let any one come forward and tell me in what other way Philip has become powerful except through ourselves."

§ 12. Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο. Likewise *Or. de Cor.* § 123, where DISSEN renders, *etiam hoc dicam, afferam*. БОЕСКИ :

*Und doch, auch dieses noch.* This sentence is thus paraphrased by J. HELD (*Diss. ad Phil. I. p. 27*): *quamquam hoc quoque eventurum esse ponam; si quid ille pateretur et fortuna, quæ semper melius quam nos ipsi nobis consulit, a nostris partibus et hoc effecerit, scitote*, etc. VOEMEL makes τοῦτο the object of the verb ἴσθ', but erroneously; for Demosthenes uses this word absolutely also in *Or. in Mid.* § 167, καὶ γὰρ αὖ τοῦτο.

τὰ τῆς τύχης, instead of the simple ἡ τύχη.

ἥπερ sc. ἐπιμελεῖται.

τοῦτ', i. e. the death of Philip.

πλησίον μὲν ὄντες. The sense is: *If you should be at hand, ready to act when every thing is thrown into confusion (viz. by Philip's death), you can manage as you please.*

ἂν is evidently to be joined with διοικῆσαισθε.

τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάρτες. TOURREIL: *à portée et en état de profiter des troubles que causeroit une pareille révolution.*

ἀπερσιμμένοι. WOLF and his followers interpreted this passage, *Pendientes ab apparatus et consiliis*. The grammarians understood the word ἀπερσιμμένοι differently. HESYCHIUS, I. p. 450: μακρὰν ὄντες. PHAVORINUS, *Lex.* p. 236: ἀπέρσιμμαι· τὸ δύσταμαι· γενεῖῃ συντάσσεται, is construed with the genitive. THOM. MAGISTER: ἀποδίσταμαι, who says the word properly applied to places separated by the sea. Finally, the Scholiast: *ξεχωρισμένοι (τῶν πραγμάτων)*. It is used in this sense of remoteness by DIONYS. HAL., speaking of the sublimity of Demosthenes (ch. XXII.): ἡμεῖς οἱ τοσοῦτον ἀπερσιμμένοι τοῖς χρόνοις, *We who are so distant in point of time [from the hearers of Demosthenes]*. The sense of this passage is: *But as you are now situated, remote from affairs both in your preparations and counsels, you could not receive Amphipolis, even if circumstances should place it within your reach.*

Amphipolis was a city of Macedonia, situated on the river Strymon, twenty-five stadia from its mouth, and near the boundary of Thrace. Its original name was Ἐρρέυ ὁδοί,

*Nine-Roads*; but Hagnon, who was sent thither with a body of Athenians in the time of Pericles, drove out the Edoni, who at that time possessed it, and gave it the name of Amphipolis (*ἀμφί, πόλις*), the reason of which, as related by Thucydides, IV. 102, was, that he had connected the two arms of the river Strymon, which surrounded the place on two sides, by a long wall, and thus completely separated the town from the adjoining country. The same historian relates, IV. 104, that, in the Peloponnesian war, he himself commanded a small fleet stationed at Thasos, an island half a day's sail from Amphipolis, at the time this city was attacked by the Lacedæmonians under Brasidas. When the inhabitants in their distress, called upon him for assistance, he hastened thither with seven ships, but arrived too late to save them. This was the cause of his banishment by the Athenians, who ascribed the loss of the city to his neglect or cowardice. Cf. GOELLER, *Thuc. Vit.* p. 6. At the conclusion of peace between Athens and Sparta, Ol. 89. 3, B. C. 422, Amphipolis was ceded to the Athenians (THUC. V. 18), from which time little is known concerning its history till a short time before Philip's succession to the throne of Macedonia, when it was the object of much contention between that country and Athens. To the latter it was very important, on account of its large exportation of ship-timber, and the very considerable revenue derived from it, as well as its strong position upon the river Strymon. Philip, not long after his accession to the throne, declared the city independent; but in Ol. 105. 3, B. C. 358, he laid violent siege to it, upon which the Amphipolitans sent an embassy to implore the aid of Athens. (DEM. *Olynth.* I. § 8.) Philip, however, wrote a letter to the Athenians full of deceptive flattery, promising to restore Amphipolis to them as soon as he had conquered it, by which they were induced to refuse the required assistance, and the city fell into the hands of Philip, who then refused to fulfil his promise. Another circumstance tended greatly to heighten



the indignation of the Athenians; they had engaged to give up Pydna in exchange for Amphipolis, but Philip had managed, by means of traitors, to get this city also into his power. The Athenians, finding themselves duped and defrauded of their possessions, had no resource left but war, which from that time they carried on with various energy till the peace was concluded, Ol. 108. 2, B. C. 347. WINIEWSKI, *Hist. Com. de Cor.* p. 40 seq. WACHSMUTH, *Gr. Antiq.* I. 2. 340. Cf. DEM. *Or. adv. Aristoc.* § 116. Amphipolis is now called by the Turks, *Emboli*; by the Greeks, *Christopolis*. LUCCHES.

§ 13. Ὡς μὲν, & τ. λ. The order is: Ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ [ὑμᾶς] ἅπαντας ὑπάρχειν ἐθέλοντας ποιεῖν ἐτοίμως τὰ προσήζοντα. The participle with ὑπάρχειν is more forcible than the simple verb ἐθέλειν, and indicates a condition of greater duration. Cf. *Or. de Cor.* § 95, and the examples collected by DISSEN, p. 258.

ὥς. See MATTH. *Gr. Gr.* § 568. 5.

ἢν . . . οἴομαι, which, I think, would deliver us from these difficulties.

τὸ πλῆθος [sc. τῶν στρατευομένων] ὅσον [εἶναι δεῖ].

καὶ δὴ. Often used by Attic writers for ἴδῃ, directly, immediately. HERM. *ad VIGER.* p. 829. DEM. *Orat. de Pac.* § 9, καὶ δὴ περὶ ὧν παρελίλυθα ἐρῶ. Cf. XEN. *Cyr.* IV. 4.

δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν τοσούτων. Cf. *Or. de Cor.* § 6.

§ 11. μὴ πρότερον. Vulg. καὶ μὴ, which is retained by VOEMEL. καὶ is wanting in Cod. Σ. In direct negative opposition, the copula is often omitted, with great force. In this place, καὶ would decidedly weaken the prohibitive power of μὴ.

καινὴν παρασχενῆν, a new mode of carrying on the war. LUCCHESINI: Nec si cui primo aspectu novam bellici apparatus formam videar asferre, me rebus expediendis moram inducere aestimatote. By ἀναβάλλειν . . . τὰ πράγματα, the orator means that his plan would not occasion any real delay in their operations, though, at first sight, it might appear so. *Or. in Mid.* § 84, εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἀναβαλέσθαι.

ταχὶ καὶ τήμερον. These are the words of those who advise to march against the enemy at once, without providing means for sustaining the war.

εἰς δέον, *to the purpose*. In *Orat. de Ord. Rep.* § 4, we have παραυλίζετε εἰς οὐδὲν δέον, *you spend in vain*.

τὰ γ' ἤδη γεγενημένα, *κ. τ. λ.* The passage is forcibly rendered by JACOBS: *Da wir das Geschehene durch die gegenwärtige Hülfe nicht mehr hindern können*.

§ 15. ἀλλ' ὅς. The ellipsis is to be supplied thus: ἀλλ' οὗτος μάλιστα εἰς δέον λέγει ὅς, *κ. τ. λ.*

“ τίς respicit varia bellici apparatus genera, equitum, peditum, navium; πόση singularum partium numerum. πόθεν διαμεῖναι δυνήσεται spectat subsidia, quibus opus est ad alendas omnis generis copias.” BREMI.

πεισθέντες denotes *agreement to a peace satisfactory to both parties*.

τοῦ λοιποῦ, *in future*. HERM. *ad VIGER.* 706.

ταῦτα refers to the ways and means of maintaining a permanent force. WOLF: *Me igitur hæc posse dicere arbitror. ἔχειν in the sense of posse*.

§ 16. τριήρεις περτήζοντα. This must have appeared a very small number for a city possessing so large a naval power as Athens; for even in the time of our orator, it was able to furnish from three hundred to four hundred triremes. BOECKH, *Staatshaushalt. der Ath.* Vol. I. p. 279, and BOECKH, *Seewesen der Athener*, p. 79. Cf. *Or. de Class.* § 20, ἀκούσεται δὲ τριακοσίας αὐτοῦς ἡμᾶς νῦν παρασκευασμένους τριήρεις. He proposes, however, to equip but a moderate number, because experience had taught him that, in the manner such preparations were conducted at Athens (cf. *infra*, § 37), the equipment of a larger fleet would be attended with many delays, and the burden could not be long sustained. The chief point was to obtain a standing force which should be ready to act in case of emergency; he therefore prudently proposes a plan which was at least

feasible, if not as magnificent as those which the people were accustomed to adopt. Cf. § 20.

εἴτ' αὐτοὺς . . . ἔχειν, in the second place, that you should be resolved to go on board yourselves, if it should be necessary. The construction οὕτω τὰς γλώσσας ἔχειν is worthy of notice. The Attics used ἔχειν with the adverbs ὥπως, ὥς, καλῶς, and the like, to express condition or disposition, joining it with the genitive; as, οὕτως ἔχω τῆς γλώσσης, *ejus sententiæ sum*. VIG. Gr. Id. p. 248. Some critics regard τῆς γλώσσας, a Doric genitive, as the true reading, instead of τῆς γλώσσης; but it is more probable that Demosthenes wrote τῆς γλώσσης, and that the other is the correction of some copyist.

αὐτοῖς. Demosthenes demands that Athenian citizens shall themselves arm and take the field against Philip; for they had become averse to war, and therefore carried it on chiefly by means of mercenaries. LIBAN. *Argum. Olynth.* I. § 7: ἀξιῶν αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ διὰ ξένων, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν. Which custom, our orator repeatedly assures them, was ruinous to the public welfare. ταῦτας, sc. τοιήρεις.

ἵππαγωγὸς τοιήρεις, vessels for the transportation of cavalry; sometimes called ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα or νῆες ἵππαργοί. Cf. THUC. II. 56. — πλοῖα, vessels for carrying provisions and other necessaries. Schol.

§ 17. Δεῖ γὰρ . . . παραστήσαι, For we must impress this upon his mind. DEM. de Cor. § 1, τοῦτο παραστήσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, *dii faciant ut animo teneatis*. DISSEN.

Ἠύλας, Thermopylæ. After ὥσπερ supply ὠρμήσατε. "On going through Trachin to Hellas," says Herodotus, VII. 176, "the road is but half a plethrum [fifty feet] wide, yet the narrowest place is not there, but just in front and at the back of Thermopylæ, where there is room for only one carriage. A steep and inaccessible mountain rises on the west side in the direction of Œta, but on the east of the road are the sea and the marshes. There are warm springs in the pass, and near them an altar erected to Hercules.



Across this entrance a wall had formerly been constructed with gates (πύλαι) by the Phocians." Hence the name Θερμοπύλαι (θεσμαι πύλαι), i. e. *Hot-Gates*. This attempt on the part of Philip to enter the pass of Thermopylae, which the Athenians happily succeeded in preventing, took place about the end of Ol. 106. 4, B. C. 353, only a few months before this oration was delivered. WINIEWSKI, p. 51. Cf. *Or. de Cor.* § 32. The expedition sent to aid the Eubœans against the Thebans, who were compelled to evacuate the island, took place in Ol. 105. 3, B. C. 358. It is often cited by Demosthenes, to show how much can be effected by decision and promptness. *Orat. in Androt.* § 14; *de Cor.* § 99.

ἡγεῖσθαι εἰς Ἀλίουπτον. He speaks here of an event which happened before his birth. In Ol. 96. 2, B. C. 395, the Athenians marched to assist the Thebans against the Lacedæmonians, who had invaded Bœotia. At the battle which took place at Haliartus, Lysander, the Lacedæmonian general, fell. XEN. *Hellen.* III. 5, seq. WIN. p. 21. In comparison with that expedition, the one to Thermopylae is represented as recent (πρόρη). — τὰ τελευταῖα denotes merely the termination of a series of dates without reference to the present time.

§ 18. Οὔτοι παρτελῶς, to be joined with ἐνκαταφρόνητόν ἐστιν. He refers to the preparation above recommended. The sense is, *It is of no slight consequence, even if you should not do this*, viz. march against him. ἢ indicates the effect this policy would produce upon Philip, who would be led to do one of two things, either of which would be advantageous to Athens; for he would either keep quiet from fear, when he knew that the Athenians were prepared to meet him, or if, in contempt of so small a force, he should leave Macedonia unprotected, they would be able to take advantage of it.

οἱ πάντ' ἐξαγγέλλοντες. There were many persons at Athens favoring the interests of Philip, and whom he had either won



by flattering attentions, or corrupted by presents. Among this number were Neoptolemus, Philocrates, Aristodemus, Phrynon, etc., through whom he received information of every thing that occurred there, and whose treachery was exposed at the conclusion of the peace in Ol. 108. 2.

πλείους τοῦ δέοντος, *but too many.*

§ 19. δεδόχθαι . . . καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι. *Perfecta h. l. ad cunctationem tollendam et ad celeritatem urgendam, quippe quum necessitatem involvant, ut istæc probata et instructa sint.* VOEMEL. Cf. *Or. de Cherson.* § 3.

Πρὸ δὲ τούτων. Before the establishing of this regular army, which shall keep itself in readiness to repel Philip's attacks, Demosthenes advises them to send another force to harass Philip and to keep him employed in Macedonia.

μή μοι, understand λεγέτω τις or λέξῃς. μή μοι, *per ellipsis*, followed by an accusative, is not unusual. LUCCHESINI renders, by the indicative, *Non mihi decem posco, non viginti mercenariorum militum.* But the Greeks, particularly the Attic authors, joined μή prohibitive with the imperat. pres. or subjunct. aorist. HERM. *ad VIGER.* p. 809. MATTH. *Gr.* 511. 2. BERNHARDY, *Gr. Synt.* p. 353. Demosthenes administers a powerful rebuke to the Athenians for abandoning the interests of the commonwealth to the hands of foreigners.

ἐπιστολιμαίους . . . δυνάμεις. *Epistolary troops.* This is explained by the unknown lexicographer in BEKK. *Anecd.* p. 253, τὰς ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς γραφομένας μόνον δυνάμεις, ἔργῳ δὲ ἢ ἐν πολέμῳ μὴ θεωρουμένας. Cf. *infra*, § 30. The law which required each citizen to be enrolled, and, if called upon, to enter the public service, was no longer strictly observed. When there was a demand for soldiers to support their generals or aid their allies, they voted to enlist a large number of mercenaries, and that, too, at a time when there was scarcely money enough in the treasury to defray the expenses of government. БОЕЦКН, *Staatsh.* Vol. I. p. 291. These decrees were sent, with the announcement that the troops

would soon follow; but as no money was appropriated, little or nothing was effected. Or if, as was sometimes the case, they succeeded in raising troops on the credit of the state, they quartered them among their allies, who were oppressed and plundered by them without mercy. Cf. *infra*, §§ 43 and 45. *ΒΟΕΚΗ* appears to have had this passage in view when he says: *Zehntausend, zwanzigtausend Söldner pflegten geschrieben zu stehen, aber es war eine papierne Macht, und ein leerer Volksbeshluss zog mit einem Feldherrn aus. Staatsh. I. 291.*

*ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται.* No little difference of opinion exists among commentators in regard to the meaning of these words. The opinion of *REISKE* and his followers, that an army composed of citizens (*δύναμις πολιτικὴ*) is meant, does not agree with our orator's words below (§ 21), where he proposes that three fourths of the troops shall be mercenaries. A similar view was taken by *LUCCHESE*: *copias domesticae reipublicae e civibus conflatas*; and *TOURREIL*: *Je veux des troupes composées de citoyens.* *SAUPPE* changes *ἢ* into *ἢ*, but *ἀλλ' ἢ*, *nisi*, is recognized as the correct reading by *HERM. ad VIGER.* p. 812. These particles answer to the English *but, except*, as will appear from the following example: *ἔστι δ' οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ λόγοι τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ, Orat. de Cherson. § 73.* Besides this, I have marked a passage in *LONGUS. Lib. III., οὐκ ἐρῶν τυχεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ μαθεῖν, τίς ἐστιν ὁ λαοφύλων μαθητής*, *not desiring to catch her* (sc. the echo) *except for the purpose of discovering who was the concealed pupil.* Also *XEN. Anab. VII. § 53*, and *Id. Hellen. I. 7. 15.* These particles are used only after a negative, which we have here in *μή.... μηδέ*, instead of the more usual *οὐκ*. Cf. *THUC. IV. 85.* *KUEHNER, Gr. 322. 10*; but *τῆς πόλεως εἶναι, reipublicae voluntati obsequi ejusque commodis servire. SAUPPE. Cf. infr. § 27.* From which it appears that all that was necessary to constitute the force *τῆς πόλεως εἶναι* was that its commanders should be native Athenians. Demosthenes adds this because not

seldom the leaders as well as the troops were foreigners. Cf. § 27, note. The sense of the passage will thus be: *talk not to me of mercenary troops, except they are to be under the control of the city, and whether you elect one or several, this man or whomever else you please, as your commander, they shall follow and obey him.*

*καὶν, and if, whether.*

§ 20. *πῶς ταῦτ' ἐθελήσει.* The subject of the verb is ἡ δύναμις; *ταῦτ'* refers to what is said above, *τῆς πόλεως ἔσται . . . πείσεται καὶ ἀκολουθήσει.* The orator explains below, § 23, in what manner the soldiers may be induced to act for the advantage of the city. BEKKER has *ἐθελήσετε*, referring *ταῦτ'* to the words immediately preceding, *τροφὴν ἔξει.*

*καθ' ἕναστος τούτων, each of these.* This is an abbreviation of the formula, *καθ' ἓν ἕναστος τούτων.* We find the full expression in *Or. de Corona*, § 17, *βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕναστος αὐτῶν ἱκετεύσαι.* Likewise in *Or. in Mid.* § 142, *καθ' ἓν ἕναστος ἡμῶν ἀποστερεῖν.* Also *Olynth.* II. 24. Sometimes the distributive is omitted and the numeral retained; as, *Phil.* III. 22, *καθ' ἕνα . . . λωποδτεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.*

*Ξένους μὲν λέγω.* By *ξένοι* the orator means not only foreigners, but mercenaries. MAUSSACUS *ad* HARPOCRAT. What follows as far as *φαίνεται* is parenthetical; about to enter on the subject of a hired force, the speaker interrupts himself, to interpose a warning against the rock upon which they had so often split, that of adopting plans that were impracticable.

*καὶ ὅπως μὴ.* Before *ὅπως* understand *ὄρατε* or *σκεπτέον.* HERM. *ad* VIGER. p. 435. Cf. *Or. de Class.* § 7.

*πάντ' . . . τοῦ δέοντος, denn immer scheint euch Nichts gross genug.* JACOBS.

*ἐπὶ τοῖς πρώτοις . . . ποιεῖτε.* Ἐπὶ *cum dat. significat: aliquid juxta fieri aut esse. Si res eo decenter ut eam perficiatis, nihil agitis.* RUEDIGER. *You adopt the grandest projects in your decrees, but when it comes to action, i. e.*



carrying them out in practice, even little things you do not accomplish. Professor BOECKH defines the difference between *πράττειν* and *ποιεῖν* to be the same as between the German *wirken* and *machen*; the former indicating action in general, whilst the latter is more employed in individual cases.

§ 21. *Λέγω δὲ, I say, then, etc.* The orator resumes, but instead of continuing on the subject of hired troops, as the commencement led his hearers to expect, he artfully passes to a general description of the army.

*στρατιώται, the infantry*, as distinguished from the cavalry.

ἐξ ἧς. The order is, ἐξ ἧς τινος ἡλικίας ἂν ἑμῶν δοκῇ καλῶς ἔχειν. Cf. *Olynth.* III. § 4, καὶ τοὺς μέχρι πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν αὐτοὺς ἐμβάλλειν. We have already observed (ad § 7), that the youth were enrolled on the military list at the age of eighteen, and for two years acted as a guard to the territory of Attica. On reaching the age of twenty, they were registered among the citizens of their respective *δῆμοι*, and publicly, in the temple of Agraulos, took a solemn oath to obey and support the laws, and to serve their country faithfully, whether in the capacity of a soldier or that of a citizen. POLLUX, *Onom.* VIII. 9. WACHSMUTH, *Gr. Ant.* I. 252. The whole disposable military power of Athens was accordingly divided into forty-two enrolments or classes (*ἡλικία*), each of which was named after the Archon under whom it was registered. Whenever an expedition was resolved upon, the assembly determined the number and class of those to be sent.

Athens had originally no soldiers except its own citizens. By the laws of Solon, every man was obliged to be registered in the lists, from which a selection was made when a campaign was decreed. LUCCHESINI. No distinction of classes was made; the rich and poor, the noble and common man, stood upon a level in this respect. Even the philosophers, “*gravissimum quietumque mortalium genus*” (LUC.), donned the cuirass and helmet, and went forth to meet the



enemies of their country. Plato boasts of the prowess of his master Socrates (*Apol. Soc.*), and his own military exploits have their historian and panegyrist. (*ÆL. Var. VII.*) Æschylus and Sophocles were both soldiers, the latter associated in command with Pericles. (*LESSING, Leb. Soph.*) Further, they were obliged to serve without compensation; and a refusal to do military duty was attended with exclusion from civil rights. Pericles, however, considering it a hard thing for poor men to be withdrawn so long from their own affairs, without remuneration, introduced a law for allowing pay to the citizens while on duty. *ULPIAN.* But the strictness of ancient discipline had relaxed; the Athenians of Demosthenes's time were an enervated and pleasure-loving people, shrinking from the fatigues of war, and demanding to be amused at the expense of their highest and dearest interests. He employs his eloquence, therefore, to rouse them from this morbid indifference to the public welfare, and to restore, if possible, their former military spirit and usages. See *HEEREN, Pol. Hist. Anc. Greece*, p. 211.

ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις, *ut alii aliis succedant.* *AUGER.* The dative is often joined with substantives which are derived from, or related to, verbs governing the dative; διαδέχεσθαι is of this class. See *MATTH. Gr. Gr.* § 389. *XEN. Cyr. I. 4,* ἡ διαδοχὴ τῇ πρόσθεν φυλακῇ ἐρχεται ἐκ πόλεως. *KRUEGER ad XEN. Anab. I. 4. 2.*

ξέρους. “On traitoit d'étranger dans la milice Athenienne tout homme né hors de l'ancienne d'Athènes. On distinguait encore l'étranger d'avec le mercenaire. Le premier nom se donnait aux soldats que la republique empruntait de ses alliées, le second aux soldats que l'on achetoit. La plupart de ceux-ci venoient de Crete abondante en excellens tireurs d'arc.” *TOURREIL.* That this distinction was frequently neglected, see *WACHSMUTH, Gr. Antiq. I. 2. 310.*

ὥσπερ, instead of ὅσπερ; Cf. *Or. de Cherson.*, ἰζη τὸν αὐτὸν τροπὸν ὅσπερ ἐπ' Ὀρεόν; and *Olynth. I. 15.*

§ 22. *Εἴτε.* Well, so far good; a word often used by the Greeks in passing to another subject.

*Ταχέας τριήρεις*, *light-rigged vessels* of war, used for purposes of escort. The Scholiast quoted by RÜDIGER to THUC. VIII. 43, explains, *ταχέα τριήρεις πρὸς τὴν ταχυστάτην ἐπιτίθεται*.

*ἐξείρον*, i. e. Philip.

*τριήρων* is preferred by SCHAEFER to the accent *τριήρων*. So SOPHOCLES, *Gr.* § 47.

*ἀσφαλῶς*. The two thousand whom Demosthenes proposes to send to harass Macedonia are intended to fight on land. Ten armed vessels are added to afford them protection on their passage.

*τῆς αἰτίας*, and *infr. τοσαύτης*, are used in a diminutive sense: *for what reason I think so small a force is sufficient*.

*ἀποχωρῆν* is the legitimate infinitive of *ἀποχωρέω*, which was originally a personal verb. The form *ἀποχωρήναι* is in use by good authors. BREMI. Attic form *ἀποχωρῆν*, Ion. *ἀποχωρῆν*. F. A. WOLF rejects the *ι* subscript. *Lit. Analect.* II. 426. Vid. BEKK. *Anec.* p. 81. So the most learned editors of the present time, following the authority of ancient inscriptions. Cf. BOECKH, *Corp. Inscript. Græc.* 2569, 2919.

§ 23. *Τοσαύτης*, sc. *ἀποχωρῆν οἶμαι*, *has copias sufficere puto*. AUGER.

*ἐν*, instead of *ἐνέσσι*.

*παταταξομένην*, fut. mid. instead of pass. MATTH. *Gr.* § 496. The meaning is, *an organized force which can be opposed to Philip in open battle*.

*ληστεύειν*, to carry on war as *freebooters*.

*τὴν πρώτην*, at first. Cf. BERNHARDY, *Gr. Synt.* p. 185.

*ἐπέμψον*, HESYCH. *ἐπέμψον*, said of something enormous or immoderate. This proposition of Demosthenes, to send a predatory force into Macedonia, was not approved of. BOECKH, *Staatsth. der Ath.* Vol. I. p. 304.

*πρότερον ποτ' . . . ἐν Κορίνθῳ*. The circumstances here alluded to occurred in Ol. 96. 2, B. C. 395, in the so-called Corinthian war. WINIEWSKI, p. 22. JACOBS, *Ann.* By SCHNEIDER *ad* XEN. *Hellen.* IV. 4, VOEMEL, and LUC-

CHESINI, they are assigned to Ol. 96. 3. During the absence of Agesilaus in Asia, a confederacy was formed against the Lacedæmonians by the Thebans, Corinthians, Athenians, Lœcrians, and others, who chose Corinth as their headquarters, *συνήδριον ποιῶν τῶν συμμάχων*. DIOD. SIC. XIV. 86. Cf. *supr.* § 17.

*Ξενῶν*. Harpocration says that Conon first commanded the Athenians at Corinth. He was succeeded by Iphicrates and Chabrias. Mention is made of Polystratus in *Or. adv. Lept.* § 84. Iphicrates is ranked by historians among the first of the Grecian generals. Diodorus, Xenophon, and Corn. Nepos celebrate his exploits, and our orator, in the oration against Aristocrates, expatiates at length upon his talents and success. He was a man of low origin, and might truly be called the artificer of his own fortune. He was the son of a shoemaker, and won his way, by his energy and skill in military affairs, to the rank of commander. In this capacity he was enabled to render some material services to Cotis, king of Thrace, whose friendship he gained to such a degree that Cotis gave him his daughter in marriage and loaded him with presents and honors. He was not less esteemed by the Athenians, who erected a brazen statue to his honor, granted him the freedom of the table in the Prytaneum, and many other distinguished privileges and favors. Chabrias, the successor of Iphicrates in the command of the Athenian army at Corinth, acquired also great fame and honor by his achievements. He lost his life in the beginning of the Social War, while making an attack on the island of Chios, Ol. 105. 3, B. C. 358. WINIEWSKI, p. 35. His body was conveyed to Athens and deposited in a magnificent tomb, which was still to be seen in the time of Pausanias. LUCCHESINI, p. 265. Cf. WACHSMUTH, *Gr. Antiq.* Vol. I. 2. p. 311. TOURREIL *ad h. l.*

*ἄλλοι τινές*, i. e. Callias, Strabax, Philicrates. VOEM.

§ 24. *Ἐξ οὗ*. Since, like the Lat. *ex quo*.

*οἱ δ' ἐχθροὶ, κ. τ. λ.* Demosthenes frequently alludes to the

rapid growth of Philip's power. Allusion is no doubt also made to Thebes (cf. *Or. de Pac.* § 20 seq.), Chios, Rhodes, Byzantium, and other places.

μείζους τοῦ δέοντος, *stronger than is expedient.*

παράκλυσαντ'. The verb παρὰκλύπτει here signifies, *to give a passing glance at, to treat slightly or negligently.*

πρὸς Ἀρταβάζον. In Ol. 106. 1, B. C. 356, Chares was sent by the Athenians, with a large fleet, to reduce the rebellious Byzantians, Rhodians, and Chians to submission. It happened that, at the same time, Artabazus, a satrap of Persia, had revolted from the king; and being hard pressed, he offered large sums to Chares if he would come to his assistance. Chares, who saw here an opportunity of gaining money to pay his troops, forsook the business for which he had been sent, and proceeded to the aid of Artabazus, whom he thus freed from his difficulties, and from whom he received a large reward for his services. This action of Chares was at first approved by the Athenians, but afterwards, when they perceived the evil consequences likely to ensue, they construed it into an atrocious crime. For the incensed Persian monarch threatened to send three hundred armed vessels to assist the revolted islanders against Athens (Diod Sic.), which, terrified by the menace, immediately brought the war to a close, thus losing possession of Byzantium, Cos, Rhodes, and Chios. JACOBS *ad Or. de Pac.* § 25. WINIEWSKI, p. 35. Demosthenes, however, palliates the conduct of Chares, (cf. *Or. de Fal. Legat.* § 332), and throws the blame upon the soldiery, who were unmanageable because they were not paid.

παρταχοῖ μᾶλλον ὀίχεται πλεόντα, *any where else rather* (than remain in your service). Photius explains παρταχοῖ: εἰς πάντα τόπον. ὀίχεται with a participle is very frequent with Demosthenes. *Or. de Cor.* § 40, ὄχετο ἐξείρους λαβόν, *er geht indem er sie wegreisst.* ΒΟΕΣΚΗ, *Lect. id.* § 65. Cf. also HEROD. IV. 145, ὀίχεται πλέων.

στρατιγῆς ἀκολουθεῖ. The unbridled license of an unpaid



soldiery is thus forcibly described by LUCCHESENI: "Nihil ferocius, nihil indomitum magis exercitu stipendiis fraudato. Respuit disciplinam, imperium non audit, omniaque sibi licere putat." And SCHAEFER not inaptly quotes the excellent lines of Lucan;

"Nulla fides pietasque viris, qui castra sequuntur,  
Venalesque manus: ibi fas, ubi maximâ merces."

Cf. WACHSMUTH, *Gr. Antiq.* I. 2. p. 311. To put the mutinous character of these troops in a still stronger light, Demosthenes artfully makes it appear as if they led on, and Chares was obliged to follow.

§ 25. τὰς προτάσεις, *subterfuges* which they urged in excuse for their conduct. Cf. *Olynth.* II. § 27.

ἀφελεῖν, sc. ὑμᾶς.

ἐπόπται, lit. *inspectors, overseers*, and in this way it is generally rendered. But the idea that Demosthenes advised the Athenians to make soldiers the inspectors of their generals is so absurd, that we must suppose he used the word in a very modified sense, very probably in that of *spectators, witnesses*, as infr. § 47, μάρτυρας τῶν στρατηγούμενων. The generals were accountable for their conduct, but as they commanded mercenaries only, they could make any report they chose without fear of contradiction. This afforded the widest field for peculation and falsehood. The remedy is to send a portion of the citizens with them, not in the capacity of the Lacedæmonian ephori. to influence their movements, but simply as observers of their operations.

τῶν στρατηγούμενων, *eorum, quæ ab imperatore agantur*. SAUPPE. γέλως = γελοῖον, like ἀράγη for ἀραγζαῖον.

Φιλίππῳ πολεμοῦμεν. JACOBS is of the opinion that these words are to be regarded as ironical, as neither the Macedonians nor the Athenians had yet committed any over acts of warfare. It was not Philip's policy to make an open

declaration of war, and if that is to be regarded as the test, no war existed even when he offered to conclude a peace. In a question of this kind, facts are better than opinions. An indirect war had existed ever since the taking of Amphipolis. (WINIEWSKI, p. 40.) The history of the years immediately preceding this oration is marked by a continued series of hostile aggressions by Philip on the possessions of Athens. In the preceding year, Ol. 106. 4, B. C. 353, he had devastated the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, and carried off Athenian citizens into slavery. Soon after, he had seized the fleet lying at Geræstum, and the sacred trireme at Marathon. (Cf. *infr.* § 34.) He had taken Methone, which the Athenian fleet arrived too late to assist (§ 35); but a few months previous, he had besieged the Athenian fortress of Heræum in Thrace. (*Olynth.* III. 4.) To these and many other places the Athenians rendered but a weak and tardy assistance.

§ 26. ἐχειροτορεῖτε. The imperfect tense, when it denotes an action often repeated, may have the sense of the present. It may be so rendered: *Are you not accustomed to elect*, etc. Vid. MATTH. Gr. § 503. These military officers being chosen annually, those then in office had been recently elected. The manner of electing was by *raising the hand*. SCHOEM. *de Com. Ath.* pp. 251 and 313. The Athenians had two methods of voting; one by raising the hand (χειροτορεῖν), and the other by depositing black and white stones in a vase (ψηφίζεσθαι). The former was employed in the election of magistrates, military and civil, since in them personal qualifications were requisite; the latter, in deciding weighty questions of peace and war, the equipment of vessels and armies, and the like.

στρατηγοὶς. These were ten in number, and chosen annually. In former times, the usage had been that they all should go to war together, each taking the command in turn for one day (HERODOT. VI. 110); but in the age here treated of, they went singly or by twos and threes, one into

one province and one into another, one commanding the naval, another the land forces as occasion required. These ten generals, who were elected in time of peace as well as in war, one from each of the tribes, formed a college of magistrates, whose jurisdiction extended over all matters relating to military and naval affairs; it has been compared, and not without reason, to a ministry of war in modern states. It appears probable that each had his particular department in the administration; at least, the titles of three of the regular *strategi* are known to us: ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν or ὀπλιτῶν, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων, and ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως. Their duties had become extremely numerous and burdensome, for a particular enumeration of which, see MEIER and SCHOEMANN'S *Attischer Process*, p. 106 seq. For any of them to take command of a warlike expedition, it was necessary that he should be specially elected by the assembly of the people (cf. § 19), and instances are related in which foreigners were appointed to the post of actual commander (cf. *infr.* note to § 27; ÆLIAN. *Var. Hist.* XIV. 5).

ταξιάρχους. The *taxiarchs* were next in dignity to the commanders. They also were elected annually, one from each tribe. They aided the commander in levying troops, each in his own tribe, and in war each commanded the infantry of his tribe. "Horum munus; ordines militares instrere, pedites in aciem ducere, itinera, et commeatus indicere." LUCCHESINI. TOURREIL defines their office in the army as similar to that of a colonel in our times. — The *phylarchs* also were ten in number, and elected in the same manner. Their duties in the cavalry were the same as those of the *taxiarchs* in the infantry (SCHOEM. p. 315); they stood next in command to the two *hipparchs*, who commanded the cavalry of all the tribes, subordinate to the general. In the wretched system which now prevailed of carrying on war by means of foreigners, these had nothing to do but to figure in the processions at home, the mercenaries being led by their own officers.

τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν, *marshal processions for you*. The Attics used the verb πέμπειν with χοροὺς, ἑορταίς, πομπαίς, in the sense of ἄγειν. MEINKE, *Menand.* p. 166. "Equitum Atticorum non minus erat dies festos deorum pomparum splendore exornare, quam contra hostes pugnare." C. F. HERM., *de Equit. Att.* p. 19.

ἱεροποιοὶ. The ἱεροποιοί presided over the ceremonies of the sacrifice. These magistrates, ten in number, were chosen by lot (ἄρχοιτες ἐληρωτοί). They had the care of the chief religious festivals at Athens, and ranked among the highest functionaries in dignity and importance. Beside these, there was another class of ἱεροποιοί, mentioned by our orator, *Or. adv. Mid.* § 115, viz. the priests of the Eumenides (see BOECKH, *Staatsh. der Ath.* Vol. I. p. 232), concerning whom MAUSSACUS *ad* HARPOCRAT. quotes the following from the *Etymolog. Mag.*: μὴ ἀγροῶμεν ὅτι καὶ ἄλλοι εἰδὲν ἱεροποιοὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν δεῖα. p. 237.

πλάττορες τοὺς πηλίνους, *puppet or doll-makers*. πῆλινοι were little *images of clay* (πηλός) that were exhibited for sale in the market. SAUPPE conjectures that they were of the same sort as those now called *terra-cotta*, still preserved in museums. JACOBS: *Denn wie Puppenmacher fertigt ihr Taxiarchen und Phylarchen für den Markt, nicht für den Krieg*. The market-place was the principal ground for the evolutions of festival processions.

§ 27. γὰρ. Cf. § 10, note.

παρ' ὑμῶν, *from among you*, viz. native Athenians. = οἰκείους. Vid. BERNHARDY, *Gr. Synt.* p. 255.

ἵππαρχον, &c. &c. Only one of the *hipparchi* could be absent from Athens at a time; the other was required to assist at the festivals and processions. The chief emphasis in this sentence belongs to οἰκείους. Demosthenes says that the officers of the army ought to be native citizens, so that it might be truly the army of the city. See *supr.* § 19.

ἢ ἢ. This part is construed with the imp. ind. when the hypothesis upon which it rests is merely imaginary, but is not so in fact. BERNHARDY, *Gr. Synt.* p. 376.



ὥς ἀληθῶς, *how truly, indeed*, ὥς thus strengthening the adverb.

εἰς . . . . Λῆμνον. Lemnos (now Stalimene, Λυσση.), a well-known island in the Ægean Sea. The object of this voyage to Lemnos was, according to the explanation given by SAUPPE, to attend the annual festivities in that island: "Insulam quotannis lustratam eosque dies magno et splendido apparatu celebratos esse narrat Philostratus, *Heroic*. XIX. 14, p. 700." Thucydides, VII. 57, mentions that the Attic dialect and customs prevailed there, and it is not improbable that such a feast was held as is above alluded to. WESTERMANN affirms on the authority of newly discovered fragments of Hyperides, that a *hipparch* was annually sent from Athens to Lemnos, as was the case to Delos, Delphi, and other sacred places.

Μενέλαον. Harpocration informs us that Menelaus was the son of Amyntas and half-brother to Philip. According to JUSTIN. VII. 4, Amyntas and Gygæa had three sons, Archelaus, Aridæus, and Menelaus, whom Philip persecuted with violent animosity, and at length put to death. Cf. SAUPPE *ad h. l.* It appears that Menelaus commanded a division of the Athenian cavalry (VALESIUS, *Annot. ad HARPOCRAT.*), though not regularly elected by the Athenians. SCHAEFER, in *Apparat. crit. ad Dem.*, says this could not be done: "Ab Atheniensibus enim non poterat χειροτονεῖσθαι, nisi qui ipse esset Atheniensis. Menelaus ut peregrinus et ξενικός non fuit χειροτονημέρος." And WOLF: "Imperatorem Atheniensium Atheniensem esse oportere." But that the Athenians sometimes conferred the command on foreigners can be easily proved. An example of this was Charidemus of Oreos, very severely handled by Demosthenes in *Or. adv. Aristoc.* LIBAN. in *Argum.* PLATO, *Ion*. ed. NITSZCH. p. 45. It is probable that Menelaus received his appointment at second hand. — τοῦτον, sc. ὑπαρχον.

§ 28. περαινῶ. BEKKER in his first edition has περαινω; in the second, περαινῶ, from Cod. Σ.

*Ἀγγάρια*, nom. abs., announcing the subject about to be discussed. The words ἐστὶ μὲν . . . δυν. ταύτῃ are simply explanatory; I have therefore adopted the punctuation of BEKKER.

μαζούρ τι πρὸς. So *Or. adv. Androt.* § 60, δραχμαὶς ἐξδομίζοντα καὶ μαζούρ τι πρὸς. Cf. also *Or. adv. Lept.* § 112. "Herodotus uses prepositions as adverbs very frequently, the Attic writers more seldom." BREMI. — The full amount is ninety-two talents per annum.

ποσᾶν δ' ἔτετα, as much more, i. e. forty talents. Demosthenes allows, for the ships . . . . . 40  
 " " foot . . . . . 40  
 " " horse . . . . . 12

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92 talents.

BOECKH estimates the Attic talent of silver at 1375 *Thaler*, *Conventionsgeld*. (*Staatsh.* I. p. 16.) Hence, 92 talents = 126,500 *Thlr.*; that is, \$ 87,634.21.

Ten ships each 20 *minæ* per month, 12 m.

$$10 \times 20 \times 12 = 2400 = 40$$

2000 foot each 10 dr. per month,

$$2000 \times 10 \times 12 = 240000 = 40$$

200 horse each 30 dr. per month,

$$200 \times 30 \times 12 = 72000 = 12$$

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92

### *Denominations of Attic Coins.*

$$1 \text{ talent} = 60 \text{ minæ} = \$ 974.2857.$$

$$1 \text{ mina} = 100 \text{ drachms} = \$ 16.238.$$

$$1 \text{ drachm} = 6 \text{ oboli} = 16\frac{1}{5} \text{ cts.}$$

$$1 \text{ obolus} = 8 \text{ chalci} = 2\frac{7}{10} \text{ cts.}$$

$$1 \text{ chalcús} = 7 \text{ lepta} = 3\frac{1}{2} \text{ mills.}$$

$$1 \text{ lepton} = \frac{1}{2} \text{ mill.}$$

Our orator's estimate, therefore, allows two *oboli* per day for each foot-soldier, or nearly  $5\frac{1}{2}$  cents, and for each horse-man one *drachm*, a little over 16 cents. This was the

minimum pay of the Athenian soldier. Thucydides (V. 47) makes mention of a treaty of alliance between the Athenians, Mantineans, Elians, and others, in which it was stipulated that, under specified circumstances, the foot should receive 3 *oboli* of Ægina and the horse a *drachm* of Ægina per day. The Æginetan *drachm* was worth 10 Attic *oboli*. (Боеcki, p. 17.) The maximum wages, inclusive of rations, were 2 *drachms* for the foot, and double of this, sometimes quadruple for the horse. Officers received double the pay of the soldier, the commander only four times as much. (Боеcki, p. 131.) In order to form a proper estimate of the real worth of money, it is necessary to know the prices of provisions and labor. All the necessaries of life were much cheaper in proportion than with us. An inn-keeper, for example, charged a traveller  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an *obolus* for a night's entertainment, rarely more. A lamb cost from 3 to 4 *oboli*; a common sized kid, 1 *obolus*. In Solon's time, a sheep sold for 1 *drachm*, a fine ox for 5, or about 81 cents (Боеcki, p. 66). The soldier lived very tolerably on 2 or 3 *oboli* a day, which was as much as an ordinary laborer or mechanic could earn.

§ 29. ἀποποιεῖν εἶναι, *If any one think that the providing of food for the soldiers is a small assistance, he mistakes.* BEKKER omits εἶναι, in which he is followed by RUEDIGER.

προσποιεῖ. This is the common reading, and supported by all the best manuscripts. Render, *The army itself will furnish the remainder from the war.* KUSTER (*de Verbis Med.* p. 35) contends that it should be προσποιεῖται; and that the active in this sense is contrary to the use of Attic writers. He says: “Προῖζω est supposito, præbeo aliis; προῖζομαι in medio, mihi reperio, paro, comparo vel conficio. Hinc ergo apparet scribendum esse προσποιεῖται, ubi nunc legitur προσποιεῖ. Sensus enim est: ipsum exercitum reliqua sibi comparaturam esse, ut recte Wolfius vertit.” BEKKER first edited προσποιεῖται, but afterwards restored the common reading. The active is used in the same manner

by the best authors, as SAUPPE has shown by a variety of examples.

*Πόθεν*, sc. *ἔσται*.

§ 50. ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΕΙΞΙΣ. It was customary for all documents, laws, &c., to be read by the secretary (*γραμματεὺς*). It is probable that the paper here read was composed chiefly of numbers showing what proportion of the money would be required from the several tribes. The use of the plural here (*ἡμεῖς*) suggests that he was assisted in drawing it up by other persons skilled in financial affairs.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Epist. ad Ann. X.*) says that Demosthenes, under the archon Themistocles (Ol. 108. 2, B. C. 347), delivered the *sixth* (*fifth*, WOLF) of his orations against Philip, concerning the protection of the islands and cities in the Hellespont, the commencement of which was: *Ἄ μὲν ἡμεῖς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεδνρήμεθα εὐ-γοεῖν ταῦτ' ἔσται*. This passage gave rise to an opinion, which has been adopted by many eminent scholars, that the First Philippic closed in this place, and that the remainder was the oration mentioned by Dionysius as the *sixth* Philippic. Of the modern critics who take this ground, I may mention Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* Vol. I. Lib. II. 26, Taylor, Leland, Jacobs, and Wachsmuth, *Antiq. Gr.* Vol. II. p. 344, note. Those who contend for the unity of the oration as it now stands are Turreil, Mounteney, Auger, A. G. Becker, Bremi, Schaefer, Winiewski, p. 60, Boeckh (*Lectures*, Berlin, 1847).

*ἐπιχειροτονεῖτε τὰς γνώμας, κ. τ. λ.* When you come to the adoption of measures, you will choose what you please. When the orators had finished the discussion, the authors of different measures drew up their *psephisma*, upon which the chief of the *Proedri* or the *Epistates* demanded the votes of the assembly. The expression *γνώμας χειροτονεῖν* or *ἐπιχειροτονεῖν* was most usual, expressing the manner in which the vote was given, viz. by raising the hand. SCHOEM. *de Comit. Ath.* p. 123.



χειροτορίσετε, vulg. χειροτορίσατε, and so ΒΕΚΚ. The fut. is found in the Cod. Σ. and suits the place better than the imperative. It is more modest and conciliating, and perfectly in keeping with the custom of Demosthenes. Cf. *Phil.* III. 70.

ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, κ. τ. λ. Cf. sup. § 19 seq.

§ 31. ἄν . . . . . πορλεύσασθαι. The particle ἄν with the inf. is sometimes to be translated by the word likely. Cf. *Phil.* II. § 10. — τὸν τόπον τῆς χώρας, *the nature and situation*, or, as we say, the *topography*, of the country. Later writers used the word τοποθεσία in this sense. DIOD. SIC. I. 42, περὶ τῆς τοποθεσίας τῆς χώρας. Cf. DEM. *Or. adv. Aristocrat.* § 182.

προλαβέων. Cf. *Or. de Cor.* § 314, upon which DISSEN remarks: "Verbum προλαβεῖν dicitur de commodis, quæ quis præoccupat, ut utatur in suum usum et contra alios."

τοὺς ἐτισίας. The *Etesian* winds begin to blow about the 12th of July, and continue for forty days, according to Apollonius, or fifty, according to Timotheus. They subside at night and commence again before sunrise; hence they are called by sailors the sleepy winds. LUCCHES. Their direction from the northwest favored Philip in his expeditions against Greece, but made the sea almost unavigable for those sailing to the north. WACHSMUTH, *Gr. Antiq.* I. 1. p. 295 seq., and 2. p. 343.

μὴ δυνάμεσθαι, κ. τ. λ. This is said in regard to the calculations of Philip. The sense is, *He takes care to make his attacks at a time when he thinks we cannot arrive there.* This is the only manner in which the μὴ would be correctly used. "Optativus solus cogitationem rei, conjunctivus cum ἄν cogitationem et potentiam simul innuit. Zu einer Zeit in der wir allem Anscheine nach dorthin nicht gelangen können." J. HELD.

§ 32. πορβεται. This word signifies *troops hastily collected on a sudden emergency.* Cf. *Or. de Cherson.* § 47. AUGER: *collectis raptim auxiliis.* Cf. LIV. 3. 4. *Latini*

*Hernique dare Quintio subitarius milites (ita tum repentina auxilia appellabant) jussi.*

ἵστεργοντες γὰρ ἀπαντα, *we shall (as usual) come too late for every thing.* The time spent by the Athenians in raising and equipping troops was employed by Philip in action, so that by the time the Athenians arrived, the cities which they came to assist had already surrendered. Ἰστεργον, Att. form for ἵστεργισω. Cf. *infr.* 35.

Ἵπάσχει δ' ὑμῶν. Ἵπάσχει, *to be at one's service or command, favere* with the dat. *XEN. Anab. V. 6. 23.* καὶ ἱπάσχει ὑμῶν ἡ ἐπὶ πόλις, *robis etiam praeſto erit civitas mea.* VIGER: 308.

χειμαδίῳ in apposition with Αἴμωρ, Θάσπρ. *z. τ. λ.*, and governed by χεισθαι. *Etymol. Mag. :* χειμαδίῳ τόπος ἐφ' ᾧ ἄρ τις δύνατο χειμῶνος καθορμίσασθαι.

τῇ δυνάμει, dat. of advantage. *Render, It lies in your power to use, as winter-quarters for your troops, Lemnos, Scythos, etc.* The islands here named, together with Scopolos, Halonesos, Peparethos, and others lying around Thrace, were at that time in the possession of the Athenians. BOECKH; *Staatsch.* I. 447. DIOD. SIC. XV. 30.

τὴν δ' ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, *the summer season.* Cf. THUC. II. 52. ὥρῃ ἔτους, where some read ὥρῃ θεσῶν, which signifies the same thing. "Nempe ἔτους ὥραν ἰδίως τὸ θεός Ἀττιζέ, ut ait Herodian. p. 465, ubi v. Pearson et Bast. *Ep. Crit.* p. 108. Est igitur aestate." GOELLER. "Ὁραν is an acc. abs. denoting suitable time, as in Herod. II. 2, τὴν ὥραν ἐπαυρέειν σφίσι αἰγας. MATTH. Gr. § 425. a.

γενέσθαι with πρός c. dat. as here, is *to approach, come to.* καὶ τὸ . . . ἀσφαλές, *and when there is security from winds.* VIGER, *Gr. Id.* p. 59.

ἔσται, sc. ἡ δυνάμει, resumed from τῇ δυνάμει above. The sense of the passage is. *And at the favorable season of the year, when it is easy to land, and there is no danger from the winds, the troops will easily hover upon the very coast of Macedonia and the ports of its commercial cities.* The ex-

pression εἶναι πρός with the dat. signifies *to be employed on* with the notion of activity. BERNHARDY, *Gr. Synt.* p. 263.

§ 33. Ἄ μὲν οὖν χρήσεται, κ. τ. λ. *What use their commander shall make of this force, and when, etc.* Vid. MATTH. *Gr.* § 419. Cf. THUC. II. 4 and 15, and IV. 69.

παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν, *ipso momento*, BREMI; i. e. *at the right time, according to occasion and circumstances.*

ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ἐγὼ γέγραφα, refers to the ΠΟΡΟΤ ΑἰΟΛΕΙΞΙΣ, or plan for raising the money, which had been read.

ἐτελεῖ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν, *the whole force complete*, embracing in general terms what he had before specified.

νόμῳ κατακλείσῃτ', *lege obstrinxeritis.* AUGER.

αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ πορισταὶ γ., *yourselves becoming the treasurers and receivers.* Cf. BOECKH, *Staatsh.* I. p. 176. Demosthenes urges the Athenians to take the management of the funds into their own hands, and not to leave them any longer at the disposal of the commander; as the latter arrangement had been the occasion of much corruption and prevarication on the part of this officer, besides loading him with a multitude of duties almost ludicrous. "Qui non solum exercitui expeditionique præerat, sed quam plurimum idem rem pecuniariam et quæstuariam, frumentum, stipendium, omnemque victum per quæstores, ministros, servos et scribas curabat." VOEM.

τὸν λόγον, *yet requiring from the general an account of his conduct.* Every person at Athens who had a share in the administration, or held a public office, no matter how insignificant, was obliged to render an account of the manner in which he had discharged his duties. This was submitted to a board of auditors called λογισταὶ or εἵθεροι. BOECKH. *Staatsh.* I. p. 204. Until this was done, he could make no disposal of his property, either by will or presentation, nor was he allowed to travel or receive any public honor or reward. His entire fortune was regarded by the law as

pledged so long as he remained accountable. Id. p. 103.  
Cf. *Or. de Cherson.* § 47.

παύσεσθ', κ. τ. λ. Here the apodosis of the period begins:  
*You will cease to deliberate always upon the same subjects.*

τῶν αὐτῶν, sc. πραγμάτων.

§ 34. πρὸς τοῦτο, besides, in addition to this.

ἐξείρου, i. e. Philip's.

ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων . . . συμμάχων. That is, with revenues derived from your allies, by seizing and plundering their trading-vessels. The inhabitants of the islands and maritime cities, who carried on extensive commerce upon the Ægean and Euxine Seas, were mostly in alliance with Athens.

ἄγειν καὶ γέειν, plundering and destroying. The expression ἄγειν καὶ γέειν answers precisely to the Latin *ferre et agere*. LIV. III. 37, *Hi ferre, agere plebem plebisque res*. Cf. also VIRG. *Æn.* II. 374. *Alii rapiunt incensa feruntque Pergama*. It is said both in regard to persons and things. Cf. *Or. de Cor.* § 230. *Phil.* III. § 52.

πλεόρτας, mercaturam facientes. SAUPPE.

τοῦ πάσχειν . . . ἔξω γερήσεσθε, you will be placed beyond his ill treatment. So Lucian: *Γερέσθαι ἔξω τοῦ φθορεῖσθαι*, extra invidiæ aleam positum esse. VIGER. p. 231. Said of those who stand beyond the reach of the enemy's weapons. KRUEG. XEN. *Anab.* I. 7. 17.

οὔχ ὥσπερ. The sense of this brachylogy is to be supplied from what follows: *Nor [will he do in future] as he has done in past times*, viz. when landing upon, &c.

χορόρον, acc. abs. used adverbially. VIGER. p. 59. JACOBS: *Er wird eure Mitbürger nicht mehr gefangen mit sich fort-schleppen wie er vormals that, als er in Lemnos und Imbros einfiel*. BRUECKNER (*König Philip*, p. 110) avers that this attack was made by pirates in the service of Philip; but there is little room to doubt that he himself commanded the troops that devastated these islands. A strong difference of opinion exists as to when these incursions



were made. LUCCHESINI places them in Ol. 105. 3, B. C. 353, not long after Philip had conquered Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidea, and the other maritime cities of Macedonia. But Philip did not finish the conquest of these cities till Ol. 106. 4, B. C. 353, in which year WINIEWSKI places the expedition against the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, and the attack upon the Athenian fleet at Geræstos, quoting in support of his argument the words of Æschines, *Or. de Fal. Leg.* p. 37, Φύλιππος δὲ ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Μακεδονίας, οὐκ ἐθ' ἐπὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως πρὸς ἡμῶς ἡγωνίζετο, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ Ἀίμου καὶ Ἰμβρου καὶ Σκύρου, τῶν ἡμετέρων πτερυμάτων. WACHSMUTH, however, (*Gr. Antiq.* II. p. 344), and those who receive this part as the sixth Philippic (cf. supra ad § 30), reckon it in Ol. 108. 1, B. C. 348; VOEMEL, Ol. 106. 2, B. C. 355, *Proleg. ad Phil. I. et Olynth.* Geræstos is the southern promontory and port of Eubœa. — τὰ πλοῖα, *merchant vessels.*

ἐξέλεξε. He exacted from his captives vast sums of money as a ransom. SAUPPE.

ἰερά . . . τοῦρα. As early as the time of Plato (cf. *Phædon.* init.), mention is made of the sacred vessel called the *Delian Theoris*, employed to convey the delegates of Athens to attend the quadrennial festival on the island of Delos. Being constantly kept in repair by replacing the decayed parts by new, it was still in existence in the time of Demetrius the Phalerian, Ol. 115. 4, B. C. 319. BOECKH, *Seewesen der Ath.* p. 76. Another, which is the one here alluded to, was named the *Paralos* (ἡ Πάραλος). Cf. HARPOCRAT. 141, at the word ἰερά τοῦρα. Both were employed for conveying embassies, public messages, money, etc., and sometimes as admiral-ships in naval battles. The *Paralos* was kept constantly in readiness and the crew received regular pay (four *oboli* per day), throughout the year, though they remained the chief part of the time in idleness at home (BOECKH, *Staatsh.* I. p. 258), which was probably the cause of the surprise and capture of the vessel.

δέρασθε. BEKK. ἰδέρασθε. The present is confirmed by the best manuscripts. It is also better suited to the context, for the orator shows that even now the Athenians are not in a condition to prevent these outrages.

προθίγθε. SCHAEFER edits προέλιγθε, and LUCCHES. προέλοισθε.

§ 35. Καίτοι τί δὴ ποτε, *Jam vero quid tandem.* RUE-DIGER.

Παραθιγαῖων ἐορτήν. The Panathenæa had their origin in the games instituted by Erichthonius, the fourth king of Athens, in honor of Minerva. Before the time of Theseus, this festival bore the name of Athenæa; but after the latter king had collected the inhabitants of Attica into one city, he gave it the name of Panathenæa, because, as Pausanias says, it was celebrated by all the Athenians united. Cf. HARPOCRAT. S. VOC. Παραθ. WACHSMUTH, *Gr. Antiq.* I. 227. The Athenians celebrated two festivals of this name, the greater and the smaller Panathenæa; — the smaller annually, and the greater once in four years, or, according to the Hellenic expression διὰ πενταετηρίδος, *quinquennially*, taking place regularly in the third year of each Olympiad, on the 28th day of the month Hecatombæon. БОЕСКН, *Staatsh. der Ath.* II. 167. Beside the hecatomb which was purchased, large numbers of oxen were presented by the villages of Attica for the solemn sacrifice. The flesh of these was distributed among the people, and a magnificent feast prepared, upon which they regaled themselves. The Panathenæa was conducted with much the same ceremonies as the other Athenian festivals, — with horse, chariot, and foot-races, processions, games, contests, &c. It will be sufficient here to notice some of the more remarkable. The torch-race on horseback at night was introduced at Athens in the time of Socrates. The race was won by him who ran the swiftest and preserved his light burning. This was made of wax, and attached by a kind of holder to the shield of the rider. БОЕСКН, *Staatsh.*

*der Ath.* I. 496. An essential part of the ceremonies, and peculiar to the great Panathenæa, was a grand procession, participated in by all the people, old and young, to convey to the Acropolis the *peplos*, or embroidered robe, which was made by virgins chosen for that purpose. The *peplos* is represented to have been a magnificent piece of tapestry, in the form of a sail representing subjects taken from Attic mythology, especially the battles of the gods and the exploits of heroes; hence the expression of Aristophanes, ἄξιός τοῦ πέπλου. It was attached to a ship moving on rollers, and after being thus drawn about for some time, it was at last carried by the chief sailors up to the temple of the goddess in the Acropolis. WACHSMUTH, *Gr. Antiq.* I. p. 127. PAUSAN. I. 29. *Schol. ad HOM. Il.* 5. 734. C. F. HERM. *Gottesdienstl. Alterth.* p. 273. § 54. The celebration was attended with great expense; the great Panathenæa in Ol. 92. 3 cost the state more than six talents, or about 5,865 dollars. БОЕЧКН, *Staatsh. der Ath.* II. 165.

τῶν Ἀπορρίων. The worship of Bacchus was introduced from Egypt into Greece by Melampus. HERODOT. II. 49. DIOD. SIC. I. 97. But see SCHOELL, *Histoire de la Litt. Gr.* II. 5. The festival of the Dionysia was originally quite rural in its character, being held in autumn at the close of the vintage, when the vine-dresser, in gratitude for such precious gifts, expressed his thanks to the power which produced them. The occasion was marked by wild mirth and wanton frolics, the people vying with each other in ludicrous disguises and tricks, and in rude personal jests and mockery. The extemporaneous plays and songs which formed a part of these rejoicings, gave rise to the dramatic and musical contests which afterwards reached such perfection in Athens and other places. The festivals of Bacchus were four, and were celebrated at different seasons of the year: — I. *The Country Dionysia*, τὰ κατ' ἀγροὺς Ἀπορρίαι, which was the feast of the vintage, and the oldest (WACHSMUTH, *Gr. Antiq.* II. p. 251), took place in the month of

Poseidon, corresponding nearly with our December. II. *The Lenaea*, τὰ Λήναια, the feast of the wine-pressing, held about the 20th of the month of Gamelion (21th January). III. *The Anthesteria*, τὰ Ἀνθεστήρια, feast of the wine-tasting, took place on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of the month Anthesterion, answering to the 15th, 16th, and 17th of February. IV. *The City Dionysia*, τὰ Ἀστυνέα, derived from the country Dionysia (БОЕССКИ, *Abh. Berl. Acad. der Wissenschaft.*, 1816, p. 117), was a general feast celebrated in Athens between the 8th and 15th of the month Elaphebolion, or about the vernal equinox. (C. F. HERMANN, *Gottesdienstl. Alterth.* p. 307.) The wealth of the city and the favorable season of the year contributed to give it great splendor and importance. It was here that the simple song which was sung in the festive processions rose by degrees to the dignity of dramatic poetry, and Thespis's introduction of a special actor, to fill up the pauses in the chorus, led the way to the grandest development known in the history of the human mind. For a particular description of this festival, see C. O. MUELLER's *Eumeniden*, p. 109 seqq.

τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου, *at the proper time*. For the gen. of the time *at or in* which any thing occurs, see MATTH. Gr. 376. 2.

ἂν τε . . . ἂν τ', *sive . . . sive*. ἂν for ἔάν.

δαιτοὶ λήξουσιν ἂν τ' ἰδιῶται. WOLF explains δαιτοὶ, *persons acquainted with the management of festivals*; ἰδιῶται, *those unskilled or inexperienced in such affairs*. Lat. *periti* and *imperiti*. TOURREIL, correctly: *n'importe à qui le sort en ait commis le soin, gens entendu ou non*.

εἰς ἃ τοσαῦτ' ἀναλίσκεται χοίματα. The reading of the Codex Σ, which we have adopted in the text, clears this passage of all difficulty. ὅλων καὶ παρασκευῶν depend on the verb ἔχει, to which the nom. ἃ is to be supplied. ὅλος refers to the numerous officials employed at these festivities; παρασκευῶν to the expensive scale in which these were got up. The following is the order of construction: εἰς ἃ τοσ-



αὐτ' ἑορτάματα ἀναλίσκεται ὅσα οὐδ' [ἀναλίσκεται] εἰς ἕνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ [αὐ] ἔχει τοσοῦτον ὄχλον καὶ παροικεσὺν, ὅσῃν οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι τῶν ἀπείρων [ἔχει]. — τῶν ἀπείρων is neut. pl. *Quantum nescio an ullum omnium in se habeat.* VOEM. The sense is, that more money is spent upon these festivals than upon any one thing whatever. The orator could not have intended to condemn these expenditures as unnecessary, for the public festivals here alluded to were religious, being celebrated in honor of the tutelary divinities of the land. Thus the processions, music, and public shows, which formed an essential part of them, but which we are accustomed to regard as mere objects of amusement, received by this means a much more elevated character. They became duties enjoined by religion, which could not be neglected without injury to the honor, reputation, and even welfare of the city. Cf. HEEREN, *Pol. Hist. of Greece*, p. 171 seq.

τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους. HARPOCRAT. says, ἀπόστολοι δ' εἰδὼν καὶ τῶν ῥεῶν ἐκπομπή. The acc. is to be referred to *ρομίζετε*.

ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν. Cf. supra, § 32, note. Also *Or. de Cor.* § 102, where DISSEN: ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν est *serius venire, opportunitate rerum gerendarum elapsa, cum classis post tempus exiret*. The best authors construe this verb with the gen. LOBECK *ad Phryn. Ecl.* p. 237: Ὑστερίζειν τῷ καιρῷ οὐ λέγεται, ἀλλ' ὑστερίζειν τοῦ καιροῦ, *occasionem rei gerendæ prætermittere*. It is joined with the dat. when a definite time is expressed. HERODOT. VI. 89, ὑστερίσαν μὴ ἡμέρη.

Παγασάς. Pagasæ, a city and seaport of the Phereans on the coast of Thessaly, was subjugated by Philip in Ol. 106. 4, B. C. 349. LUCCH. *Annot. Hist.* p. 274. RUEDIG. *Com. Hist.* p. 211. Diodorus Sic. gives but a loose account of the taking of Methone and Pagasæ; for in one place (XVI. 31) he mentions these events as occurring while Diotimus was archon at Athens, and in another (31), he places the surrender of Methone under the archonship of

Eudemus, Ol. 106. 4. Pagasæ was taken after the overthrow of Potidæa and Methone. *Olynth.* I. § 12. Cf. BRUECKNER, *König Phil.* p. 102 seqq. Cf. *supra*, § 4.

§ 35. *Οὔ.* This introduces the answer of the foregoing question.

ἐκ πολλοῦ, sc. *ῥόρον*, long beforehand.

τίς χορηγός, sc. *ἔσται*. The office of the *choregus* was the most important of the regular Liturgie (*λειτουργία ἐπὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, DEM. *Or. adv. Lept.* § 21), the object of which was to grace the festivals, and provide for the entertainment of the people. It was discharged by the wealthy citizens in a certain order established by the several tribes. It was the duty of the *choregus* to collect the *chorus*, to pay for their instruction by a master, and to bear all the expenses necessary for their training as well as for their proper appearance in public. LIBAN. *Arg. Or. in Mid.* WOLF, *ad Lept. Proleg.* p. 91. In these expenses were included their board and attendance, dresses and ornaments, masks in the dramatic performances, &c. BOECKH, *Staatsh.* I. p. 489. Sometimes the charge was undertaken by volunteers, and even by the state. Ibid. p. 494. "These imposts were the more onerous from the circumstance of their not being fixed at any amount; but depended, not merely on the wants of the state, but the pride of those who supplied them." HEEREN. SCHOELL. *Hist. de la Litt. Gr.* II. p. 9. As the service was a religious one, the person of the *choregus* was sacred while engaged in his duties. Demosthenes was officiating in this capacity when he was struck by Midias, which gave occasion to one of his most celebrated orations.

γυμνασιάρχος. The *gymnasiarchus* was appointed in the same manner as the *choregus*, to superintend the gymnastic schools in which the youth practised for the public contests. He did the same for the *athletæ* under his charge which the other did for the *chorus*. BOECKH. I. p. 495. WOLF, *Proleg. ad Lept.* p. 93. Cf. HERM. *Staatsalt.* § 161 seqq.

παρὰ τοῦ, instead of *παρὰ τίρος*, *quando et a quo et quid*

*accipiendum, quidque faciendum.* AUGER. WESTERMANN thinks that these words refer to the money advanced by the state.

ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, *but in affairs pertaining to war.* περὶ with the gen. represents the subject itself. See examples collected by BERNHARDY, *Gr. Synt.* p. 262.

τι, i. e. *quelque mouvement de l'ennemi.* TOURREIL.

τριηράρχους. The trierarch was originally, as the name denotes, the commander of a trireme, or ship of war, but afterwards the word signified merely the person who paid the expense of equipping and maintaining a trireme. The trierarchy belonged to the so-called extraordinary *liturgiæ*; the obligation to serve rested entirely upon property, and in this respect it was the most burdensome duty the Athenian citizen was called upon to perform. For every one who possessed a fortune of three talents, was liable to be appointed trierarch once in three years. BOECKH, *Staatsh. der Ath.* I. pp. 485, 492. The ships were the property of the state, and were distributed by lot (BOECKH, *Seewesen der Ath.* p. 167), unfurnished, among the trierarchs, who were then obliged to provide them with rigging and all other necessary implements, and to keep them in repair during their term of office, which was one year. The trierarchs were named by the generals of the army (HERM. *Staatsalt.* p. 348), and when they did not themselves take the command, they sent a substitute (BOECKH, *Staatsh.* II. p. 80); beside which, they had to hire at the expense of the state (Id. II. 85) and support the ship's crew. The cost of furnishing a vessel varied from forty to sixty *minæ*, i. e. from six hundred to one thousand dollars. If a hired captain took the command, he received one talent *per annum.* WOLF, *Proleg. ad Lept.* p. 118. The naval system of the Athenians underwent, however, many changes, for which see HERM. *Staatsalt.* § 161; BOECKH, *Staatsh.* II. 80 seqq.; and *Seewesen der Ath.* p. 177.

τούτοις ἀντιδόσεις ποιοῦμεθα, *inter eos permutationes opum*

*instituimus.* VOEM. This refers to a law, said to have been introduced by Solon, according to which, any person who had been appointed to the trierarchy, if he thought a richer man than himself had been passed by, was allowed the right to demand that such a one should take his place as trierarch, or, if he refused to do this, that he should exchange fortunes with him; so that, after the exchange, he could afford the requisite sum. This was designed to protect the poor or unfortunate against unjust or arbitrary burdens. Should the person thus designated refuse to do either, the other could lay an attachment on his property, and seal his house till the court could decide which was the wealthier of the two. DEM. Or. *Phæripp.*, in the beginning; *adv. Aphobum*, II. § 17. БОЕЦКН, *Staatsh.* II. p. 124. It was a curious feature in this law of exchanges, that civil processes changed hands along with the property which they concerned. From the time that must have elapsed in making out inventories and settling points of law, it can be seen with how much justice Demosthenes complained of delay in their preparations.

χορημάτων πόρον. Since the war fund had been diverted to purposes of public amusement, it became necessary to levy a special tax to support the expenses of an expedition. Cf. *Olynth.* I. § 19. HERM. *Staatsalt.* § 171.

μετοίκους. The μέτοικοι (*resident aliens*) constituted a large class in Athens; in the time of Demetrius the Phalerian, they amounted to ten thousand. They were strangers, whom either the business advantages of Athens, or its pleasant life, attracted to settle there. By paying what we should call a poll-tax of twelve *drachms* for a family annually, they enjoyed the protection of the laws, and the privilege of following any business they preferred. This did not, however, include the rights of citizenship; on the contrary, both they and their descendants continued to be regarded by the state in some respects as foreigners; they could possess no landed property, and were obliged to



choose a citizen as protector (*προστέτης*, HARPOCRAT. ap. PASSOW, *Lex. s. v.*), who represented their interests, and to whom they stood on much the same footing as the Roman clients to their patrons. A failure to pay their tax made them liable to be sold as slaves. The manufactures, commerce, arts, and trades of Athens were carried on chiefly by this class. They also performed regular military service. HERM. *Antiq.* § 115. There were among them many families of wealth and respectability, from which not unfrequently individuals were raised to the rank of *ἰσοτελεῖς*, who rendered equal services and enjoyed the same rights with citizens, except those of a strictly political nature. In some instances, also, in consideration of special merits, they were honored with the dignity of citizenship. WOLF, *Proleg. ad Lept.* p. 69. HERM. *Staatsalt.* § 116.

*τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας*, *those living apart*. “Besonders-wohnende, worunter man entweder mit Grammatikern Freigellassene, oder noch in Sklaverei befindliche, aber abgesondert von ihren Herrn auf eigene Hand lebende Leute verstehen muss.” БОЕСКИ, *Staatsh.* I. p. 281. The grammarian here particularly alluded to is Harpocration, who adds, *τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντες τῶν δεσποτῶν*, “*Freedmen who lived by themselves, apart from their former masters*, whereas slaves lived in the same house with their owners.” II. WOLF explains, *those who carry on business for themselves*, which is adopted by JACOBS. The expression is illustrated by a passage in DEM. *Or. in Eurg.* Speaking of a woman who had formerly served in the family as nurse, he says, ἀγεῖτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐλευθέρᾳ καὶ χωρὶς ὄζει καὶ ἄνδρα ἔσχευ. § 72. p. 1161, ed. REISKE.

*πάλιν*, sc. *ἐμβαλεῖν*. The orator exposes the fickle-mindedness of the Athenians, inasmuch as they had twice changed their plans.

*ἀντὶ ἐμβαλεῖν*, *to substitute, to send others instead*. THUC. VII. 13. ἀνδράποδα Ἰννακὰ ἀντὶ ἐμβαλεῖν ἐπὲρ σφῶν πείσ-αυτες τοὺς τριηράρχους.

ἐν ὅσῳ, whilst. Ὅσος in the dat. denotes an interval of time. VIGER p. 132. μέλλεται. μέλλω, when used alone, expresses *hesitation, procrastination.*\* Render, *and whilst these matters are protracted, the place to which we would sail is lost* [before we arrive].

τὸ ἐγ' ὁ. The article is here used to denote an abstract notion. Cf. BERNHARDY, *Gr. Syntax*, p. 313.

§ 37. οὐ μέρουσι καιροί. Similarly THUC. I. 142, τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μερετοί. LIVY, 31. 48, *non expectare belli tempora moras et dilationes imperatorum.* DOBREE.

ἐῖς ὥρεϊαν. Cf. supra, § 7.

Ἄς δὲ. Notice the similarity in construction to the Latin.

τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον is adverbial, *in the mean time, meanwhile.* The vulg. has εἰς before τὸν, which BEKKER, with Cod. Σ, omits, and correctly, for the phrase is clearly to be joined with οἰόμεθα. It denotes the interval which commonly elapses between voting to raise a force and the time of commencing operations, when, by reason of the numerous deficiencies, they were disappointed in finding the army not as efficient as they had calculated upon. The explanation of Francke and others, that the orator alludes to a smaller force sent out to reconnoitre while the larger is preparing, *per intermedium tempus*, is inadmissible. The sense is correctly given by VOEMEL: *quas vero interjecto tempore copias nos habere putantus, eæ in ipsis occasionibus nihil posse gerere deprehenduntur.*

Ὁ δ', viz. Philip. The import of the letter which the orator causes to be read was this: Philip sent word to the Eubœans that it was useless to place any hope of assistance in the alliance of the Athenians, since they were unable to save them. SCHOL.

§ 38. Τοῦτόν, z. τ. λ. The order is, τὰ πολλὰ τούτων . . . : τῶν ἀνεγρωσμέων μὲν ἔστι ἀληθῆ.

οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἴσως, z. τ. λ., *although perhaps not agreeable to hear.* VIGER. p. 464. The Athenians carried their fastidiousness so far, that they desired to be flattered and

entertained even to the prejudice of their own interests, sometimes refusing to listen to the orator who attempted to tell them unpleasant truths. Cf. *Phil.* III. § 3, and *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 45 seqq.

Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν, . . . ἐπερβίβεται. Wolf renders this verb intransitively: *Si etiam res . . . ipsa prateribunt*, in which he is followed by Franke and others; but it would be, perhaps, better to take it in the active sense, thus: *But if, whatever a man may omit in speaking, in order to avoid giving offence, he shall also pass by the circumstances of the case, — the real facts, — he must harangue for the pleasure* [of his audience]. This interpretation seems much more in harmony with what follows.

πρὸς ἡδονήν, *for their amusement.*

ἂν ἢ μὴ προσίζουσα, *when it is employed out of place.*

φραζίζειν, *to delude, to deceive.*

§ 39. καὶ μὴδὲ τοῦτο δέραςθαι μαθεῖν, κ. τ. λ. *Nec id posse intelligere eorum esse qui bellum recte administrant, non sequi res, sed rebus præire.* AUGER.

ἐμπροσθε εἶναι is used in opposition to ἀκολουθεῖν. He says they ought, by prudent calculation, to place themselves at the head of affairs, and to control circumstances, instead of being controlled by them.

ὥσπερ Wolf conjectures ὅνπερ, which is unnecessary, for these forms interchange. Cf. *supra*, § 21. *Olynth.* I. § 15. *Or. de Cherson.* § 18. Also *Isæus de Menecl.* HERODOT. § 18, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ γόνυ ὅτα πατέρω ἐμαντοῦ.

οὕτω καὶ τῶν πραγ., sc. ἡγεῖσθαι δεῖ. The passage is forcibly rendered by Jacobs: "Denn gerade so, wie man verlangt dass ein Feldherr sein Heer leiten soll, eben so müssen auch wohlberathene Menschen die Umstände leiten, damit das was sie wünschen geschehe, und sie nicht in die Nothwendigkeit gerathen den zufälligen Ereignissen folgen zu müssen." In another oration (*de Coron.* § 235), Demosthenes holds up Philip as such a commander: ἡγετῶν τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς ἀποκράτωρ ὢν . . . αὐτὸς δεσπότης,

ἡγεμονίᾳ, κράτος πάντων. The sentiment advanced in the text is that of an energetic statesman conscious of his power. Herodotus speaks in another tone: μάθε, ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσι, καὶ οὐκ ὦρθωποι τῶν συμφορῶν. VII. 49.

τὰ συμβῆντ', *events*. The subject of ἀναγκάζονται is ἐκείνοι, taken from the preceding, according to MATTH. Gr. § 295.

διώκειν. "Tempora rerum et consilia eorum, qui bellum gerunt, inter se certant quasi currendo. Qui rem parum callent, res ipsas semper anxie sequuntur nec unquam attingunt." SAUPPE.

§ 40. τοῦρχεις. The Athenians in the age of Demosthenes were able to furnish a fleet of 300 triremes. *Or. de Class.* § 29. Boeckh, *Staatsh.* I. 279, quotes Xenophon's statement, that those lying at the wharfs, together with those at sea, amounted to 400. He reckons 200 marines to a ship; if we take Demosthenes's statement of 300 vessels, the naval force would amount to 60,000.

ὁπλίτας. Pericles, at the opening of the Peloponnesian war, reckons the heavy infantry at 13,000, exclusive of those necessary to defend the fortifications. THUC. II. 13. And our orator, *Or. de Class.* § 29, says, ὁπλίτας δὲ ὅσους ἀν' ἡθέλη τις. BOECKH, *Staatsth.* I. p. 290. Their cavalry numbered only 1200, including the mounted bowmen. THUC. *ibid.*

χορημάτων πρόσοδον. The taxable property of the whole of Attica was estimated at 6,000 talents, the annual revenue at 1200 talents, which, however, included the tributes of the allies. The income from Attica alone was about 400 talents. *Or. de Class.* § 19. ÆSCHIN. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* p. 337. RUED. *ad h. l.*

τούτων μὲν . . . τι νέχρησθε. The sense is, *You have never up to this very day made any proper use of these advantages.* χρῆσθαι with the dat. of the thing and acc. of



the purpose, we have already noticed above, § 33. Cf. also *Olynth.* III. § 6, τί δὴ χορησόμεθα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τούτῳ; μέχοι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας. An expression very similar to the German, *bis auf den heutigen Tag*.

εἰς δέον, *to the purpose. Zum nöthigen Zweck.* FRANZ. *Olynth.* III. § 28, χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα ἀνηλώκαμεν εἰς οὐδέν δέον, *in vain*.

οὐδερὸς δ' ἀπολείπεσθε. This passage has caused the commentators no little perplexity, and the views taken of it are sufficiently various to justify a brief notice of them. Reiske says, "Non intelligo hanc dictionem. Quid enim sibi vult οὐδερὸς? Quid subauditur? Videtur Wolfius existimasse, subaudiendum esse, *πολεμίου, nullum non hostem assectamini*. Mihi videtur Demosthenes id significasse si voluisset, aliter sententiam expressurus fuisse. Num οὐδερὸς δ' οὐ καιροῦ ἀπολείπεσθε? *nusquam non sero venitis opportunitatibus rerum bene gerendurum dudum præterlapsis.*" The Abbé Auger prefers to substitute οὐκ for the vulg. δέ, and interprets, *nullam rem non serius facitis*. These conjectures are well refuted by Schaefer: "Inepte Augerus. Vulgata optime habet, in qua nihil subaudiendum, nam οὐδερὸς neutrius est generis. Male autem vertit Ruedigerus: *nihil non assequuti estis*. Immo; *nihil autem non assectamini, sc. affectatis, etsi non assequentes, sed frustra laborantes.*" *Apparat. crit. ad Dem.* p. 369. With all proper deference for such high authority, I find in this whole argument no allusion made to the cupidity of the Athenians; on the contrary, it is the too great indifference to the loss of their possessions which the orator so frequently condemns. Equally groundless is the assumption of Sauppe, that he directs his censure against their injudicious *rashness*, which certainly accords very ill with the comparison which follows. The ground which Demosthenes takes is this: the Athenians, although possessing the amplest means, not only do not act on the offensive in the war with Philip, which they might and ought to do (cf. § 18), but they do not make any

efficient defence of their possessions, but, as often as they hear of any attack, they vote to send troops, which, however, always arrive too late to save the besieged city. (Cf. § 36.) He says this is just the way that barbarians box. The construction of the passage is, ἀπολείπεσθε δ' οὐδερὸς οὕτω πολεμεῖν Φιλίππῳ ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι πυκτεύνουσιν. Lit. *You lack nothing of warring with Philip just as the barbarians box; that is, you are fully as unprepared and unskilful.* The verb ἀπολείπεσθαι with the gen. used in the sense of *to want, to be inferior to*, is very frequent, particularly among the orators. Isoc. *Erag. Encom.*, πολλὸν λίαν ἀπολείγθω τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ. Also in *Or. Panath.*, Ἐγὼ δ' ὁμολογῶ μὴν ἀπολελεῖσθαι τὴν ἐμὴν γρόνησιν τῆς σῆς. The same *Orat.* p. 614, ed. AUG., γεγονὼς μὲν ἔτι τρία μόνον ἀπολείποντα τῶν ἐκατόν. In the active, however, it is more frequently construed with the acc. The emendation of DOBREE, οὐδέν instead of οὐδερὸς, is unnecessary. — BEKKER and others have δὲ after ὥσπερ, but it is wanting in Cod. Σ, and is evidently superfluous.

τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται. Ἔχομαι with the gen. expresses the idea of physical and intellectual contact, adherence. THUC. I. 140, Τῆς μὲν γλώμης . . . ἀὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχομαι. A similar use of it is found in *Or. de Cor.* § 79, τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμεν ἐγώ, in *hæc enim eram intentus*. MELANTHON. THUC. II. 2. VIGER. p. 256. Render, *For if one of these receives a blow, he always grasps the injured part, etc.*

ἐξεῖσέ εἰσιν αἱ χεῖρες, there go his hands. FRANKE: so sind die Hände dorthin. Cf. XEN. *Anab.* I. 2. 7, where see Krueger. Sauppe quotes the poet in PLUT. *de Garrul.* p. 513. E, ὅπου τις ἀλγεῖ, زεῖσε καὶ τὴν χεῖρ' ἔχει. Lucchesini makes the following pertinent remarks on this passage: "Lepidissima et pulcherrima quidem comparatio, quæ mirifice ob oculos ponit parvas illas subitasque expeditiones ad Pylas, in Chersonesum, Pydnam, Potidæam, aliasque supra commemoratas, quæ vulneris potius dolorem ostenderant, quam ejus curandi voluntatem. Siquidem causa amovenda

fuisset, unde ipse dolor infligebatur." *Annotat. Hist.* p. 275.

*Προβάλλεσθαι*, for *προτείρειν* τὰς χεῖρας ὡς εἰς μάχην. *IIARPOC.* s. v.: *to guard or ward off with the hands.* Or. *de Cor.* § 97, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, *bona spe tanquam clypeo protenta, qua a timore se vindicent.* *DISSEN.* Also *XEN. Cyrop.* II. 3.

§ 41. *Καὶ ὑμεῖς.* You too. After a comparison, as here, *καί* may be rendered *so, in like manner.*

*συμπαράθεῖν*, lit. *you run along with him.* *So lauft ihr neben ihm her, bald auf, bald ab.* *JACOBS.*

*ἄνω χάτω*, and *ἄνω καὶ χάτω*, used indiscriminately, denote something done *without plan or order.* Both readings are to be found in good manuscripts.

*ἐπ' ἐξείρου*, that is, *subordinate to him, as your commander-in-chief.* Cf. *Olynth.* III. 6. "Odioso verbo utitur, quasi Athenienses Philippi mercenarii duces et mancipia essent; quod et turpe est et perniciosum. *H. WOLF.*

*αὐτοὶ*, 'yourselves'; you follow no independent course of action.

The expression *πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων* corresponds to the English *beforehand.* Cf. *Or. de Cherson.* §§ 11, 12, which serves as a commentary on this passage.

*ἐρίηρ.* Auger and the older editors have *ποιεῖν* after *ἐρίηρ*, which Bekker rejected as a gloss.

*πρότερον*, viz. before Philip became so powerful as to endanger the liberties of Greece.

*ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἵκει τὴν ἀزمήν.* But now it has come to such a crisis that this course is no longer admissible. *ἀزمή*: αὐτὴ ἡ ῥοπή τῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιτάσεως. *BEKK. Anecd.* p. 365. The present of *ἵκω* is generally equivalent to the perfect in English. *KUEHNER, Gr.* 255. 2.

§ 42. *Δοξεῖ δέ μοι θεῶν τις.* The sudden and rapid movements of Philip appear to have disconcerted the tardy Greeks, as those of Napoleon perplexed his more cautious adversaries. Cf. *Phil.* III. § 47 seqq., where our orator speaks of the changes that Philip had introduced in military tactics.

τοῖς γηρομένοις. The dat. of *cause* or *occasion*. Cf. MATTH. Gr. § 398. KUEHNER, § 285. 1.

γὰρ refers to the words ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει αἰσχυρόμενος. Demosthenes endeavors by this sarcastic remark to appeal to the pride of his hearers, contending that such a mean-spirited resignation to their losses was a stain on the national honor. The general sense of the passage may thus be expressed: For you are so far from feeling ashamed of allowing Philip to strip you of your possessions, that I verily believe, if he would remain satisfied with what he has got, and engage in no further undertakings, some of you would be content with such conditions, by which we should draw down upon ourselves, as a nation, disgrace, the stigma of cowardice, and every thing which is most shameful.

ἀποχοῖν ἐρίοις, κ. τ. λ., *I think it would content some of you*. On the form of this inf. see supra, § 22.

ἐξ ὧν. The antecedent of this relative are the terms just mentioned, in which, as the orator says, some were ready to acquiesce. They are in fact the very conditions on which peace was concluded, Ol. 108. 2, B. C. 347 (cf. *Or. de Halon.* § 26), and which the orator himself at that time deemed it prudent to accept. Cf. *Olynth.* III. § 2, and especially *Or. de Pace*, § 24.

ὀφλιζόμενος. ὀφλιζόμενος is a term taken from the courts of law: *damnum esse judicio*, VIGER. p. 272. BREMI: "Αἰσχύνῃ ὀφλεῖν et similes locutiones sunt periphrases verborum, ita ut phrasi notio inhæreat merito aliquem pati quod patiat: *justa premi infamia*."

ἐξουλεύσασθαι. HESYCHIUS: προζαλεῖται. ÆESCHIN. de Fal. Leg. § 3, p. 189, ὁρῆν ἐξουλεύσασθαι. REISKE: *ad indignationem vos concitat*.

ἀπεπρώκατε. This verb is used either with or without an object; *if indeed you have not altogether given up in despair*, that is, if you have not wholly abandoned the purpose for which the war was undertaken, namely, that of



recovering your possessions and punishing Philip. Cf. *DEM. de Fal. Leg.* § 54.

43. εἰ μηδὲς. After verbs signifying an affection of the mind, εἰ has generally the signification of ὅτι, *that*, indicating something definite and certain. Similarly in Latin *si*; as, HORACE, *Sat.* I. 1. 86.

“Miraris, cum tu argento post omnia ponas,  
Si nemo præstet, quem non merearis amorem?”

τιμωρήσασθαι. Cf. *supra*, § 7. WACHSMUTH, *Gr. Antiq.* I. 2. p. 354.

εἰ μὴ τις ζωλεύσει. This reading has been adopted by all the recent editors of Demosthenes, and for this reason I have retained it. The best Codex of Paris (Σ) has ζωλύσῃ, which FUNKHAENEL is inclined to receive, *Quæst. Dem.* p. 9, and the *Harl. MS.* has ζωλύσοι, either of which I should prefer to the indicative. I was the more persuaded to this opinion by the reasonings of the learned Prof. Boeckh upon a similar passage in *Or. de Cor.* § 63, εἰ μηδὲς ζωλεύσει, in which the correct reading is unquestionably ζωλύσοι. The propriety of a conditional form of the mode after εἰ μὴ is recognized by BERNHARDY, *Gr. Syntax*, p. 399.

*Eἴτα* is frequently used in interrogations, like the French *donc*, when the speaker wishes to express indignation, or to show the absurdity of something. VIGER. p. 395.

τοῖραις κερὰς. The expression κερὰ ῥῆες is commonly used in opposition to ῥῆες πλήρεις, which signified vessels furnished and manned ready for service, whereas the former denoted the bare hull and mast. When an expedition was determined upon, these were assigned to the trierarchs, whose duty it was to supply the rigging and other furniture, and to engage the crews. GOELLER *ad* THUC. VI. 31. WOLF, *Proleg. ad Lept.* p. 101. I conjecture, however, that the expression here is to be understood in a modified

sense. The war with Philip had hitherto been carried on chiefly in countries allied with, and under the protection of, the Athenians, and the part which the latter had taken was rather by way of assistance to them than on their own account. In such cases, it was not uncommon to send a subsidy of empty vessels, as, when Philip attacked Heræon in Thrace, Charidemus was despatched thither with ten empty vessels, and five talents of silver for hiring mercenaries to man them. *Olynth.* III. § 5. But not unfrequently the troops were supplied by the ally to whose aid the vessels were sent. It is scarcely, therefore, to be imagined, that they were sent totally unfurnished, like those above described; we must rather believe that they were rigged and supplied at least with crews sufficient to work them.

τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δεῖρος ἐλπίδας. Hopes held out by this or the other popular orator from the tribune. Cf. *infra*, § 45. In δεῖρος, he alludes to some person or persons whom he does not choose to name. See, concerning this word, *HERM. ad VIGER.* p. 704.

§ 44. The force and brevity of these interrogations are much praised by *LONGINUS de Sublim.* § 18.

ἐμβησόμεθα; sc. τὰς ναῦς.

ἔξμεν. The present form of this verb denotes future action. So in English, *I go, am going*, is often used instead of the regular future. *Εἶσομαι* is an epic form.

μέρει γέ τι. Notice the force of the particle γέ: *with some portion at least.*

τὴν ἐξείνου, sc. γῆν.

πλευσόμεθα. The vulg. has the Doric fut. *πλευσοῦμεθα*, which is more frequent with Attic authors than the other. We find it, for example, in *DEM. Or. adv. Polycl.*, οὐδὲ πλευσοῦμαι ἐπ' αὐτόν (but *VOEM.* here edits *πλεύσομαι*), p. 1222, ed. *REISKE*.

ἦρετο. The aorist may stand for the present in cases where the action is regarded as having already occurred,

and the notion of repetition is added. Some have proposed to read ἔποιτό τις, as in *Olynth.* II. 3 we find ἄν εἴποι τις, and *Olynth.* III. 10, εἴποι τις ἄν. In Latin, *inquit* is used in a similar way.

τὰ σαθρὰ. HESYCHIUS: ἀσθενῆ, κεκλισμένα; *The war itself will discover his weak points, if we should attack him.*

τῶν λεγόντων, i. e. *the orators*. Demosthenes says, *Or. de Cor.* § 3, that “it is a part of human nature to listen with pleasure to calumny and accusation.” The Athenians, however, appear to have had an unusual relish for it.

[οὐ] μὴ. The negative οὐ is wanting in some manuscripts, and would indeed seem to be superfluous in this sentence. HERM. *ad EURIP. Iph.* T. 886 condemns the expression οὐδὲν οὐ μὴ as a solecism. This opinion which was founded on conjecture, has been since confirmed by manuscripts compared by JACOBITZ which give Θύοβι· οὐδὲν δειρὸν μὴ πάθῃς, instead of the vulg. οὐδὲν δειρὸν οὐ μὴ πάθῃς. Sauppe, in the passage before us, rejects οὐ for the following reasons: *Negationes plures ita positæ (οὐδέποτ’ οὐδὲν οὐ), ut quæ ad totum comma pertineat sequatur, quæ ad partes ejus commatis, præcedant, se tollunt et affirmant, οὐ igitur delendum erat. Ea deleta sensus hic est, quasi dictum sit: οὐ μὴ γένηται ποτέ τι τῶν δεόντων.* Cf. *Phil.* III. § 75. It may be further remarked that οὐ μὴ followed by the subj. expresses the certainty of the ind. fut. Cf. SCHOEMANN *ad ISÆUM*, p. 384. RUEDIGER *ad h. l.*

§ 15. Ὅποι μὲν γὰρ ἄρ, κ. τ. λ. *Denn wohin nur ein Theil der Stadt mitzieht, wenn nicht alle, die Gnade der Götter und des Glückes kämpfen mit uns.* FRANZ. The idea is that the gods dwell in Athens, and should even a small part of the citizens go forth to meet the enemy, their divine protectors will not forsake them.—τὸ . . . εὐμερές. Neuter sing. of the adj. used for the corresponding abstract noun.

ψήγισμα κερὸν. See note to § 19.

τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας, cf. *Or. de Cor.* § 167, *hopes or promises held forth from the tribune.* Valesius attributes

these promises to the generals, made at the time of their election: *Solebant tunc temporis duces Atheniensium, simul atque populi suffragiis electi fuerant, consensu suggestu magnifica quædam populo polliceri et victorias ac trophæa spondere.*

τεθράσκει τῷ δέει τοῖς, &c. &c. These words were as difficult of explanation to the grammarians of ancient times as they have been to the critics of our own day, and hitherto no one has been able to say why the orator should have chosen to put the accusative instead of the genitive after δέει. Some from δέει supply the participle of the cognate verb, δεδιότες, as ROST, *Gr.* 492. Others make the acc. dependent on δέει, and among these BERNHARDY, *Gr. Syntax*, p. 114. and ENGELHARDT, *Adnot. crit. in Dem.* p. 39. Finally, HERM. *ad EURIP. Bacch.* 600, and SCHAEFER, *Apparat. crit. ad Dem.*, maintain that the phrase τεθράσκει τῷ δέει, being equivalent to μάλα δεδιέναι, may be followed by the acc. of the object. The sense of the passage is clear: *our allies die with dread of such reinforcements.* In a similar manner, DEM., *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 81, says of the subjugated Phocians, δουλεύειν καὶ τεθράσκει τῷ φόβῳ Θεβαίων καὶ τοῖς Φιλίππων ξέρονς οὓς ἀναγκάζονται τρέσσειν. According to the light hitherto thrown on the question, it appears that τεθράσκει τῷ δέει is to be regarded as a verbal phrase not unlike the English exaggerated expression *to be afraid as death of*. As such it may evidently be explained according to the principle of Greek syntax laid down by MARTEN. *Gr.* § 414: "Many intransitive verbs, namely, those which express a violent affection of the mind, take after them an acc. which denotes the immediate *object* and at the same time the *cause* of the affection." In regard to the thought itself, it is well known with what oppressions some of the Athenian generals, with their hordes of mercenaries, vexed their allies. Cf. *supra*. § 24. Voemel aptly quotes DION. SIC. XV. 95: οὗτος [Χάρις] δὲ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἐνλαβόμενος, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ἀδικῶν διετέλει, &c. &c.



§ 46. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν (for ἔξεστιν), κ. τ. λ. *For it is not possible that one man should be able to effect all that you desire* (that is, the single general, cf. § 26), without a civil force to coöperate with him.

ἄρ δυνήθῃραι ποτε. Some of the recent editors have improperly rejected ἄρ. Bekker has it in his first edition (1816), but afterwards struck it out. But it is both authorized by good manuscripts and the use of language requires it: for the verb δυνήθῃραι having its origin in the optative, the infin. without ἄρ would convey but an incomplete idea. I cannot concur with Franke, that it is used here *de re et facto*; it rather expresses the orator's conviction, who knew that others differed from him in opinion.

Ἵποσχέσθαι, alluding to the hopes and promises mentioned above, § 45. Chares was notorious for his futile promises; hence the proverb, Αἱ Χάριτος ἱποσχέσεις. The censure however is not here directed against any particular commander, but against the Athenians themselves, who, by their indifferent management, forced their generals to all sorts of artifices. This, as well as the following inf., depends on ἔστιν, repeated with oratorical emphasis at the end of the sentence.

μέντοι expresses a stronger opposition than δέ.

γίῃσαι, aorist, in the sense of γάσσω, which sometimes answers to the Lat. *dictito*, to make many words, talk plausibly.

αἰτιάσασθαι, to lay the blame of failure on others. *Aber Versprechungen machen, schwatzen, und diesen und jenen beschuldigen, das ist leicht; aber dabei geht der Staat zu Grunde.* JACOBS.

ἐξ, in consequence of. Cf. KRUEGER *ad* XEN. *Anab.* I. 3. 11: ἐξ τούτων, in Folge dieser Umstände.

ἰγίῃται has been adopted by most of the recent editors in place of the vulg. ἰππῃται. Both are supported by good manuscripts. Reiske prefers the latter, as denoting the helpless condition of the general in the hands of a turbu-

lent soldiery. But the former is approved as most in keeping with the context.

*ἀπομίσθωρ*, *unpaid*, those to whom the city has failed to furnish the stipulated pay, and for this reason *miserable*, *ἀθλίωρ*. The republic was not accustomed to furnish rations to its soldiers; but an allowance in money for provisions was counted out at the same time with their wages (ΒΟΕΚΗ, *Staatsh.* I. p. 293), and then each soldier supplied himself from the market. The stopping of payment, therefore, threatened famine. Demosthenes relates an instance (*Or. adv. Polycl.* § 53) where, from a failure of wages which were paid from day to day, the troops were reduced to absolute want, and were unable to proceed, from hunger. Much of the violence and robbery exercised by the hired troops is doubtless to be explained as arising from this cause.

οἱ δ', *the orators here*. While the generals were struggling with these difficulties abroad, they were exposed to the intrigues and calumnies of the demagogues at home.

*ψευδόμενοι ῥαδίως*. The Scholiast (in *Cod. Aug.*) remarks upon this passage, οἱ δὲ συζογιάται ἐπὲρ ὧν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐξεῖ πράττει, ἐτεῦθεν κατηγόρουσιν εὐχερῶς, διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ παθεῖναι ὑμᾶς.

ὃ τι ἂν. Construe, *ψηφίζεσθε ὃ τι ἂν τύχητε*, i. e. *you decree what happens to come into your mind, without investigation*. *Τυχῆρεαι* and *λαγχῆρεαι* often take the accus. in this sense. Cf. *MATTH. Gr.* § 327. *καὶ* is used to give emphasis to the question: *even*. Cf. *HERM. ad VIGER.* p. 837. I subjoin Wolf's translation of this passage: *Si enim imperator miseros mercede fraudatos milites ducit, qui vero de rebus ab illo gestis ad vos mentiatur, facile hic exstant et vos ex auditu, quicquid in mentem venerit, discernitis; quid, quæso, expectandum est?*

§ 47. *ἀποδείξετε*. Cf. *XEN. Anab.* I. 10. 7. *When you appoint yourselves, i. e. your own citizens as, &c.*

*τῶν στρατηγουμένων*. Cf. *supra*, § 25.

τῶν ἐνθρονῶν. Every public officer was obliged to render an account of his administration within thirty days after laying down his office. HARPOCRAT. The generals in command formed an exception to the rule; the time of their rendering their report being often appointed by a special resolution of the people. *LYSIAS adv. Alcib.* MEIER u. SCHOEMANN, *Att. Process*, p. 218. Cf. *supra*, § 33. This law, however, affected only those who received their offices directly from the government, not the subalterns and clerks. C. F. HERMANN, *Staatsalterth.* §§ 147, 154. Such report was made publicly to the board of auditors (οἱ λογισταὶ and ἐθῆροι), on which occasion any person had the right to impeach them. MEIER u. SCHOEM. *Att. Process*, p. 219. If no complaint was brought against them, and their accounts were satisfactory, they received at once their discharge; if the contrary, the matter was referred to a court of justice for decision. In regard to the λογισταί and ἐθῆροι mentioned above, there were ten of each (one elected from each tribe); but what the distinction was, or whether any real difference existed, is still a subject of controversy. BOECKH, *Staatsh.* I. p. 205. C. F. HERMANN, *Staatsalterth.* § 154, n. 8. The orators sometimes coupled the words λόγος and ἐθέρεα without regarding the difference between them; but properly speaking, λόγος signified the account of expenditures, whilst by the ἐθέρεα was meant the report, more or less detailed, of an officer's whole administration. MEIER, *Att. Process*, p. 219.

εἰς τοῦθ' . . . ἀσχρής. Cf. *supra*, §§ 9, 37.

ὅς καὶ τοῖς κρίνεται. Impeachment and trial for his life awaited the general on returning from an unsuccessful campaign. BOECKH, *Staatsh.* I. p. 291. Sauppe supposes the generals here meant were Autocles, Cephissodotus, Leosthenes, Callisthenes, and Chares.

ἀρδραποδιστῶν, kidnappers. This term denotes not only those who seized and carried off free persons into slavery, but likewise those who enticed slaves away from their masters into their own service. *Etym. Mag.* p. 102.

λωποδύτωρ, *grassatores, clothes-stealers*, knaves who robbed people in the street of their clothes. Cf. LOBECK *ad Phrynicum*, p. 461. XEN. *Mem.* I. 2. 62, λωποδύτωρ, *grassando vestes*.

§ 48. “περιόρτες sunt, qui in foro olambulant halucinantes Philippum longe aliis curis distentum abhorreere a bello cum Atheniensibus.” RUED. Cf. supra, § 10. An inveterate hatred existed between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians, which for a long period kept Greece in a state of discord. HEEREN, *Hist. States of Antiq.* p. 208 seq. The insolence of the former after their victory at Leuctra, B. C. 371, had also greatly incensed the Athenians, who desired nothing so much as to see their power humbled. Cf. *Or. de Cor.* § 18.

τὰς πολιτείας, *democratic forms of government*. Cf. HARPOCRAT. s. v. HERM. *Antiq. Gr.* § 52. ARISTOT. *Pol.* IV. 10. 11, αἱ τῶν καλοῦμεν πολιτείας, οἱ πρότερον ἐξέλιον δημοκρατίας.

διασπᾶν, used figuratively in regard to abrogating laws. XEN. *Cyr.* VIII. 5, νόμους διασπᾶν πειρᾶται.

οἱ δ', sc. φασί.

ὡς βασιλέα, *to the king of Persia*. ὡς is used for εἰς *de re animata*. Cf. HERM. *ad VIGER.* p. 850.

ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλεσι. Illyria was conquered by Philip, Ol. 106. 1 (B. C. 356). DIOD. SIC. XVI. 8 et 22. VOEM. *Proleg. ad Phil.* I. et *Olynth.* § 20. Tourreil supposes that Philip caused these reports to be circulated at Athens for the purpose of blinding the people and making them believe he was directing his aim to the north rather than to the south.

ἔκαστος, joined with a plural verb. Cf. MATTH. *Gr.* § 301. WOLF: *alii suas quisque commenti fabulas obambulamur*.

§ 49. μεθύειν. THOS. MAGISTER, in reference to this passage, remarks that μεθύω was used, not only to denote the excitement produced by wine, but also that arising from



good fortune, a sudden accession of wealth, and the like. The same trope is common to nearly all languages.

ὀνειροπολεῖν. HERMOG. περὶ τροπῆς: κοιρὸν γὰρ ἔστι τῶν μεθώρων τὸ ὀνειροπολεῖν. Turreil interprets, *Moi, je comprends bien, Messieurs, que Philippe enivré de ses succès roule dans sa tête beaucoup de chimeres semblable, d'autant plus qu'il n'apperçoit pas le moindre petit obstacle qui les dérange.*

ἐρημίαν, *absence.*

ἐπιημέρον, part. of ἐπαίεσθαι, *to be elated.* Enorgueillé de ce qu'il a déjà fait. AUGER.

οὐ μέντοι γε, *non tamen certe.* Cf. HERM. ad VIGER. p. 842. The dependence of construction on οἶμαι continues. Philip was notoriously the most crafty diplomatist of his time, which heightens the force of this sarcasm against those who flattered themselves that they saw through his plans.

λογοποιούντες, equivalent to λόγους πλείοντες above, *inventors of fables, story-tellers.* These are not to be confounded with λογοποιοί, *historians.* Cf. HARPOCRAT. s. v.

§ 50. ἐκεῖν' relates to what follows, but ταῦτ' to the preceding rumors about Philip. The sense is, *But if, paying no attention to those rumors, we understand this, that the man is our enemy, etc.*

ἀνθρώπος. Cf. § 9, and Or. de Cor. § 139.

ἀποστερεῖ. The present, denoting frequent repetition, is *continually depriving.* This verb governs two accusatives. Cf. XEN. Anab. VI. 4. 23:

τινα. This is generally thought to refer to Charidemus of Oreo. Cf. VOEM. Proleg. ad Phil. I. et Olynth. § 27.

ἐγγίττω sc. Φίλιππος. Riske conjectures that the participle προέξας has fallen out of the text, and ought to be restored. The suggestion has not been approved, yet most of the critics agree that it should be understood. The sentence then signifies, *Whatever we hoped some one would do for us, he is found to have done against us, and the rest depends on ourselves, etc.*

καὶν for καὶ ἐάν.

ἐκεῖ, i. e. in Macedonia.

τὰ δέοντ' ἐσόμεθ' ἐγρωζότες, *we shall understand what is necessary to be done, what our true interests demand.*

λόγων. Cf. ad supra, § 47.

ἅττα for ἅτινα, or ὅσα. Cf. HARPOCRAT. s. v. ἅττα. The idea is, *For it is not necessary to inquire (i. e. to speculate) what things are going to happen but to know very well that they will be adverse, unless, &c.* The order of construction is: οὐ γὰρ δεῖ σκοπεῖν ἅττα ποτ' ἔσται, ἀλλὰ [δεῖ] εὖ εἰδέναι ὅτι [ἔσται] φανλ' ἐάν μῃ, κ. τ. λ.

§ 51. The orator closes with a brief apology for the severity of his censures, urging his habitual candor and his sincere desire to serve the public interests.

μὲν οὖν. A customary formula in advancing to the close of a discourse, and referring rather to the whole tenor of it than to any particular part. HERM. ad VIGER. p. 845.

ἄλλοτε. Of the public orations which Demosthenes had delivered previous to the present, there are still extant those *adv. Leptinem, adv. Aristocratem, adv. Androktionem, de Classibus, and pro Megalopolitis.* Cf. F. A. WOLF, *Prol. ad Lept.* p. 56.

πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην λέγειν. The aorist expresses the idea of repetition or habit. The sense may be thus given: *I have never been in the habit of saying, for the purpose of winning popular favor, what I was not convinced would be salutary for the commonwealth, etc.*

ὅ τι — μῃ, nisi, nisi quod. Cf. HERM. ad VIGER. p. 849.

ἀ γηρώσω. XEN. *Anab.* I. 3. 12, ὅ τι τις γηρώσκει ἀριστον εἶναι.

ὑποστειλάμερος. A figure derived from nautical affairs. ὑποστελλέσθαι τὰ ἱστία, *to take in sail*; hence, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμερος signifies, *keeping nothing back without reservation.* STALLB. ad PLAT. *Apol. Soc.* X. λέγω οὐδ' ὑποστειλάμερος. — ὑποστελλέσθαι, *dissimulare.* The orators were said to contract sail, when they cautiously touched upon topics

which were likely to excite a storm of popular indignation, thus avoiding a free expression of their sentiments. Cf. *Olynth.* I. § 16.

Ἰβουλόμην δ' ἄρ. This refers to the time in which he had been speaking, not to the present or future. The sense is, *I should have liked to know* (viz. while I was speaking) *that my sincerity would likewise benefit me, for* (in that case) *I should have spoken with more ease.* The passage is usually so rendered as to imply an apprehension of future harm in consequence of his boldness. But the formulas Ἰβουλόμην ἄρ, — ἄρ εἴπωρ, and the change of time expressed by the following Νῦν δ', forbid such an interpretation. Concerning this construction see SCHOEMANN *de Arist. Hered.* § 1; VIGER. p. 479; MATTH. *Gr.* § 509; BERNHARDY, *Gr. Synt.* p. 373 seqq. Cf. *Or. de Fal Leg.* § 40.

ἐπ' ἀδύλῳις . . . ἐπί expresses opposition and should be translated *notwithstanding*. So WESTERMANN (edit. 1853), *ungeachtet der Ungewissheit, bei aller Ungewissheit der Folgen für mich.* — τοῖς . . . γενησομένοις, equivalent to relative and verb: *which will befall me.* Compare a similar passage in THUCYD. VIII. 97. Ἐπὶ δ' οὖν τοῖς ἡγγελέμοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦς τε εἰζοσιν ὁμῶς ἐπλήρου, where also this particle conveys the notion of firmness and perseverance. Cf. DEM. *in Mid.* § 30. The orator speaks freely, and risks the uncertain consequences.

ἐπὶ τῷ. Here, on the contrary, ἐπὶ indicates the reason. The order is: αἰδοῦμαι λέγειν ἐπὶ τῷ πεπεῖσθαι ταῦτα στρούσειν, ἔὰρ προὔξῃτε, which Auger renders, *nunc quanquam incertum est quidnam hinc consecuturus sim, tamen quid persuasum habeo hæc factu vobis utilia fore, hæc loqui aggressus sum.*

Νίκεῖν δ' . . . στρούσειν, *May that measure prevail which will conduce to your general good.* This patriotic sentiment is repeated at the close of several orations. Cf. *Olynth.* III.; *Or. Pro. Megalop.*

## PHILIPPIC II.

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THE peace concluded in the second year of the 108th Olympiad, B. C. 347, between Macedonia and the Grecian cities, was welcomed with particular joy by the people of Athens, who hoped thereby not only to obtain relief from the burdens of a long and disastrous war, and security from further aggressions on the part of Philip, but also to effect, through the coöperation of the latter, the humiliation of their hated rivals, the Thebans. Another object which they had much at heart was to save the Phocians, whose cause they had warmly espoused in the Sacred War. But their expectations in regard to both were doomed to disappointment. Philip had artfully deferred taking the oaths of ratification until he had completed his preparations for an invasion of Phocis, and was already on his march to the south with a formidable army. At length, on arriving at Pheræ, a city of Thessaly, he ratified the treaty, but with the express exclusion of the Phocians from its benefits. He had succeeded in corrupting several members of the Athenian embassy during their sojourn at his court, and these, upon their return to Athens, had so misrepresented to their fellow-citizens Philip's intentions, as to prevent their sending a force to oppose him till the news arrived that he was engaged in ravaging the Phocian cities. The conquest of that country was completed in an exceedingly short space of time, and soon afterwards a letter came from Philip, desiring the Athenians to give themselves no further trouble



about the Phocians, who had not been included in the treaty, and whom he had already reduced to submission.

Phocis, having thus become a Macedonian province, was directly stripped of all national importance; it was deprived of its share in the Delphian temple and of the privilege of a seat and vote in the assembly of Amphictyons, who elected Philip to take their place, as the reward of his pious zeal. The Athenians were also punished for their alliance with the robbers of the temple by the loss of the *προαρχαία*, or right of precedence in consulting the oracle, and of presiding at the Pythian games, — privileges which they had long enjoyed, but which were now transferred to Philip. Orchomenus, Coronea, and other Bœotian towns previously held by the Phocians, were compelled to receive Theban garrisons. Philip, being now more powerful than ever, returned with his army to Macedonia, leaving, however, a body of troops at Thermopylæ, that the way into Bœotia and Attica might remain open to him. Demosthenes declares the traitorous collusion of Æschines and his coadjutors in the embassy to be the cause of these losses and disgraces; and there seems to be no reason to doubt that, whether intentionally or not, their counsels prevented the Athenian Assembly from adopting those energetic measures by which they might have been averted. The effect of the peace, under these circumstances, was to revive in the breast of every honest patriot the old resentment and distrust towards the king, who, on his part, regarded it as one step further gained towards the accomplishment of his great plan, the supreme control of the whole of Greece.

Not the least of the evils resulting to Athens from this peace was the opportunity it afforded Philip of procuring himself a party there by means of presents and favors, as he had already done in other states. Numbers of men of all classes, even statesmen and orators, sold themselves to him, and employed their talents and influence to promote his interests. The patriotic orator had new enemies now

to contend with, and those the more formidable because they met him on his own ground and wielded the same weapons which stood at his command. Æschines, a man inferior only to Demosthenes himself in oratorical ability, was the leader of this band of traitors. He was a person of ignoble origin, and had in his youth been obliged to resort to a variety of humble avocations for a livelihood, among others that of a player, in which capacity he seems, notwithstanding his fine voice, to have been often greeted with hisses rather than with applause from his audience. His talents, however, which were remarkable, and which he cultivated with unwearied assiduity, gained for him the notice and patronage of several influential statesmen, and thus procured his enrolment (though by fraud, as Apollonius says) on the list of Athenian citizens. In the early part of his political career, he was a radical and a demagogue, and at the period here spoken of there were few statesmen that enjoyed in so high a degree the confidence of the people. He was a member of the embassy sent to treat with Philip in regard to the peace, but was not proof against the insinuating attentions and presents of that wily monarch; and after prevailing with his colleagues to consent to a highly disadvantageous treaty, he returned to Athens one of the king's most enthusiastic admirers and supporters. In defence of Philip's interests he was warmly seconded by Philocrates, an unprincipled demagogue, who omitted no opportunity of weakening Demosthenes's influence by ridiculing his abstemious habits and scrupulous patriotism. One of the principal objects of the orator in the Second Philippic is to place these perfidious citizens in their proper light before his countrymen, and to induce the latter to hold them responsible for the deplorable condition to which the state had been brought by their false counsels.

In the latter part of Olympiad 108, B. C. about 346, troubles arose in the south of Greece which seemed likely to involve the country in a general war. They originated

in the attempts of the Lacedæmonians to recover possession of Messene, whose independence had been established by the Thebans under Epaminondas. The former oppressions of Sparta still rankled in the minds of the people of Western Peloponnesus, and the cause of Messene was directly espoused by the Argives and Arcadians, by whose aid the Lacedæmonians were repulsed ; but the Messenians, fearing the result of the quarrel, solicited Philip to interfere in their behalf. The king eagerly availed himself of such a favorable opportunity of establishing his authority in the south, and ordered the Lacedæmonians to desist from their purpose ; at the same time, he encouraged the confederated cities to renewed resistance, promising them aid in money and troops. These were accordingly sent, with the intimation that he would follow soon after to take the command in person. Athens, warned by the tragical termination of the Phocian war, made an earnest effort to arrest a strife from which the most terrible consequences were to be apprehended. An embassy, composed of Demosthenes and several other statesmen of acknowledged integrity, was despatched to the Peloponnesian cities, with the view of preventing, by their persuasions, the outbreak of a war ; and the vivid picture which they drew of Philip's faithless character, even towards his friends, decided the people of Messene and Argos to relinquish their purposed attack upon Sparta. As, however, they still continued to maintain friendly relations with Philip, a second embassy, of which Demosthenes was also a member, was sent for the purpose of detaching them from his alliance, and inviting them to form a league with Athens. These missions failed to produce any material effect. The orator cites, in this Second Philippic, a portion of his address to the people of Messene, which, he says, they highly applauded and approved, but were still unwilling to renounce his friendship and flattering promises.

These open attempts to counteract his influence in the south did not pass unnoticed by Philip. He sent an embassy

to Athens, headed by the celebrated orator Python, who was instructed to protest against the groundless charges of bad faith which had been so publicly made, and formally to deny that he had ever broken his word to the Athenians. At the same time envoys arrived from Messene and Argos, at Philip's instigation as it is believed, for the purpose of complaining to the people of their having abetted the Lacedæmonians in their designs upon the liberties of the Peloponnesian cities. It was on this occasion that Demosthenes delivered the second oration against Philip, which appears to have been pronounced before an assembly convened for the purpose of deliberating what answer should be returned to the envoys. This is, however, made subordinate to the orator's main object, which is to excite the suspicion and resentment of the people, on the one hand, against Philip, whom, from his conduct since the peace, they have reason to regard as their enemy, and, on the other, against the venal orators who had served as his instruments to overreach them.

He begins by observing that the speeches he was accustomed to hear, setting forth Philip's violations of the peace, were just and good so far as they went, but that it was much easier to prove his infractions of the treaty than to advise what course ought to be pursued; that, if they wished to find a remedy for their present evils, and to check Philip before he became too formidable to be resisted, it would be necessary to change the manner of their deliberations, seeking what would be most beneficial and salutary rather than what was easy and agreeable. He is astonished that any man can look at the vast increase of Philip's power and acquisitions, and think that it bodes no danger to Athens. He himself is of a different opinion: he regards the king as their enemy, from reasons drawn from his conduct after the conclusion of peace, — his seizure of the strait of Thermopylæ, and his barbarous treatment of the Phocians. As to his having preferred to favor the wishes



of Thebes instead of furthering the views of Athens, that was simply a calculation of self-interest, and showed how correctly he had judged the character of the two states. He knew that the former were sordid enough, not only to offer no obstacle to his designs against the liberties of Greece, but to assist him in their subjugation, provided they could gain anything by it; while he was aware that no prospect of private advantage could ever bribe the Athenians to abandon their common rights or surrender the national independence. He was actuated by similar motives in his alliance with the Argives and Messenians, whose ancestors had formerly taken sides with the barbarians against their own country.

It is reported that Philip is beginning to regard Thebes with suspicion, and is in consequence fortifying Elatea. Be that as it may, it is certain that he is furnishing the Messenians and Argives with the means of crushing the Lacedæmonians, and it is absurd to think that he, who is so intent on destroying the enemies of Thebes, is going to restore Phocis, which he so lately ruined. Nor has he, as some allege, acted from compulsion, nor done anything inconsistent with his settled plan, that of concentrating his whole strength against Athens. His great aim is to extend his empire, and he regards the Athenians as the only obstacle in his way. He is conscious of having injured them for a long time, and knows that they are aware of it; and giving them credit for good sense, he thinks to avoid the consequences of their just hatred by anticipating their action. To this end he ingratiates himself with the Thebans and some of the Peloponnesians of a like stamp, whose avarice and obtuseness of mind prevent them from looking beyond the present.

Demosthenes here takes occasion to give an extract from, or rather the substance of, a speech he had delivered before the Argives and Messenians in his recent embassy, in which he besought them not to give ear to Philip's fair professions

and promises, but to take warning from the fate of the Olynthians and Thessalians, whose confidence in him had led to their ruin. "The security of states," he had told them, "consisted not in walls and ramparts, but in jealousy and distrust, especially in the case of free cities towards tyrants, who were the natural enemies of freedom and of constitutional governments." He warned them, therefore, to take care, lest, in seeking to get rid of the war, they should happen to find a master. The people of Messene, though expressing a most hearty approbation of these sentiments, could not, however, be prevailed upon to dissolve their connection with Philip. But, inconsistent as this conduct was, that of the Athenians was still more glaring, on account of their superior intelligence. "It is not surprising," says the orator, "that the inhabitants of Messene and other towns should act contrary to what their reason dictates; but you, though fully aware of Philip's insidious designs, are unconcernedly awaiting every danger; so much do present ease and pleasure outweigh future consequences."

Then follow his first loud complaints of the persons by whose false representations the people had been persuaded to conclude the disgraceful peace, of which the most odious feature was, that it was made binding even on their posterity. He anticipates what will be the grief and resentment of his hearers when they come to experience the consequences of the deception practised upon them, but at a time too late to repair the mischief. He wishes it to be borne in mind who it was that counselled them to leave the Phocians to their fate, thus opening to Philip the way into the heart of Greece. For had they not been beguiled into that imprudence, the king would not have been able to invade Attica, either by sea or by land, but would have been cautious how he again provoked a contest which he had before been so desirous of bringing to a close. The speaker concludes with the earnest wish that his anticipations might

not be realized, for he would not that any, however deserving, should suffer a punishment that would be attended with the destruction of the republic.

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§ 1. "Οταν — λόγοι γίνονται, κ. τ. λ., *As often as speeches are made*, etc. Since the conclusion of the peace into which Philip had inveigled the Athenians, rather for the purpose of lulling their suspicions with regard to his designs upon Greece than because he had any real intention of desisting from his aim, he had been busy in extending his conquests in the north, and in augmenting his influence among the Grecian states. Some of these he had won over to his alliance, by benefits actually conferred, or by promises of aid in their plans of aggrandizement. Others which were obnoxious to him he had either subdued by force or intimidated; even in Athens his flattering attentions and presents had secured him a party not inconsiderable either in point of numbers or influence. His overreaching policy did not, however, escape the vigilance of the true friends of Athens, who discovered too late, that, in consenting to a league with an unprincipled and ambitious monarch, they had manacled their own hands, and deprived themselves of all pretext for making any active opposition to his movements. These offered a fruitful theme of discussion for the Athenian orators, and were the occasion of many an excellent Philippic, if we may judge from the compliment which Demosthenes here pays them. They failed, however, in the most important point, that of indicating the proper means of meeting or avoiding the dangers which evidently threatened them.

πούπτει καὶ βιάζεται. The former of these verbs relates to the activity of Philip in securing alliances and otherwise strengthening his power; the latter is more specific, and

comprises simply his direct violations of the articles of the treaty. *πράττει* is employed in the general sense preserved in our word *practise*, which is admirably defined by Krueger: *πράττειν ist die geschäftige, ποιεῖν die schaffende Thätigkeit*. A similar distinction obtains when *πράττειν* is used in connection with other verbs, which in such case denote *species* of action. Cf. *Phil.* I. § 20, and note. The explanation of Ruediger, *πράττει καὶ βιάζεται*, i. q. *βιάζομενος πράττεται*, is therefore inadmissible, since the expression comprehends indefinitely more than what could be construed into a violation of the peace; for example, his subjugation of the Phocians and other countries not included in the treaty, and other measures for magnifying his power noticed in the course of the oration.

*ἐπὲρ ἡμῶν*, in our favor, in opposition to those made by Philip's partisans.

*δικαίους καὶ φιλανθρωπῶνους*, fair and plausible. DISSEN ad *Or. de Cor.* § 298, renders, *φιλανθρωπία λόγων blanda verba*. We have the word in a similar sense in *Or. in Mid.* § 75: *οὔτε φιλάνθρωπον . . . πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ποιήσοιτα*. Compare also *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 140. In the oration in *Lept.* § 90, it is used in opposition to *ὀμότης*, *truculentia*, at which passage F. A. Wolf quotes the words of Aristides to the Athenians: *Ἵμῶν φιλανθρωπίας, ἐκείνοις δ'* (sc. the Thebans) *ὀμότητος περίεστιν*. The Athenians boasted of this virtue, and therefore the word was particularly agreeable to them.

*γαρομέρους — δοκοῦντας*. BREMI: "Verba bene delecta. *Φαίρεσθαι* de pondere orationum, quæ certam habent persuasionem, *δοκεῖν* de judicio quod homines ferunt de iis, qui Philippum accusant." The latter word has reference to the opinion and judgment of the hearers.

*τὰ δέοντα*, what is requisite, depending on *λέγειν*. It is equivalent to the expression *εἰς δέον λέγειν*. Cf. *Phil.* I. § 14.

*μηγρόμενον δ' οὐδὲν*. All the commentators explain these words as signifying, *but nothing is done*. AUGER: *nihil recte geri*. JACOBS: *Ohne dass doch jemals auch nur das*



*Geringste von dem geschieht was zweckmässig ist.* They can have, however, no reference to active measures, for the Athenians were at this time exceedingly anxious to maintain the peace, and no orator had ventured even to make a proposition to resume the war (cf. inf. § 3) through fear of exciting their displeasure. Demosthenes is speaking simply of the nature of these orations, in which he finds nothing pertinent or worth the hearing. The part. *γῆρόμερος* is used in the same sense as in *Olynth.* III. § 2: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους περὶ τοῦ τιμωρῆσθαι Φίλιππον ὁρῶ γῆρομένους, where it is clearly equivalent to *λεγομένους*. *Or. de Cherson.* § 2. For the nature and uses of *γῆρόμερος*, cf. VIGER. p. 356 et seqq., and HERM. p. 778. Besides, what made their speeches not worth hearing? Because they dwelt only on Philip's atrocities, without daring to approach the important question, how they were to be prevented. The orator explains his meaning of τῶν δεότων below, § 5, by τὰ σώσονται. If this view of the passage is correct, which I hope is sufficiently proved, the sense may thus be given: *I observe also that all those who accuse Philip are thought to say what the occasion demands, but in fact not a word, I had almost said, of what is requisite is offered, nor for which it were worth while to hear them.* Concerning λόγους ὁρῶ, cf. *Or. de Cherson.* § 77.

§ 2. εἰς τοῦτο. *Olynth.* III. 1, τὰ δὲ πράγματα εἰς τοῦτο προήχοντα, and § 3, εἰς πᾶν προελήλυθε μοχθηρίας τὰ παρόντα. Wolf: *Sed eo jam tota respublica redacta est, ut quo magis et evidentius ostensum fuerit Philippum et pacem vobiscum factam violare et omnibus Græcis insidiari, eo difficilius sit suadere, quid agi conveniat.*

ὅσοι τις ἂν μᾶλλον καὶ γαρερώτερον, the more and the plainer; that is, the stronger and clearer the evidences of Philip's faithlessness may be made. μᾶλλον is a separate comparative, not to be joined with γαρερώτερον.

Φίλιππον . . . παραβαίνοντα . . . ἐπιβουλεύοντα. "In hac re cardo hujus orationis vertitur." RUED. The real aim of

the orator, in this and several other orations (*de Cherson. § 35, Phil. III. §§ 8, 9.*) is to group together Philip's insidious encroachments so as to demonstrate the necessity of open resistance.

§ 3. *πάντες*. Every body, including both speakers and hearers, as specified below. *κωλύειν* depending upon *δέον*, which is used in the sense of the genitive *δέοντος*. Similarly, *ἐξόν*, *Or. de Cor. § 30*. This form is ambiguous, and may be in the nominative or the accusative. According to *MATTH. Gr. § 564*, it is a nom. absolute; but others regard it as an acc. abs., as *VIGER. 329 et seqq.*, *HERM. ad VIGER. not. 213*, *BUTTM. Larger Gr. § 145, not. 10*, and *KUEHNER, Gr. § 312. 5*.

*παριόντες* (sc. *ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα*), the orators. Cf. note to *Phil. I. § 1*. The following *τούτων* Ruediger refers to the verbs *γράφειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν*; but as these infinitives are governed by *ὀκροῦντες*, it is more rational to refer it to the preceding *ἐργῶ καὶ πράττειν*. The idea is, *We abstain from proposing such measures, fearing, etc. γράφειν, to introduce a bill or a decree; συμβουλεύειν, to advocate a measure in the assembly.*

*διὰ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν*, lest we may incur your displeasure. “*Ἡ πρὸς τινὰ ἀπέχθεια duplicem habet significationem, subjectivam, odium quo aliquem prosequor, objectivam, odium quod est contra me apud aliquem.*” *BREMI.* An example of both these significations is contained in *Or. de Coron. § 36*. Comp. also *Or. de Fal. Leg. § 85*.

*ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι* (sc. *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*), you hearers. *Or. de Cherson. § 30*, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι οὕτως ἴδη διάκεισθε. Cf. § 27, *infr.*

ὥς — ἄν and the less frequent ὅπως ἄν, with the optative, denote the means for attaining an end: *You are better prepared than Philip for making speeches.* *BERNHARDY, Gr. Synt. p. 400.*

*διζαίους*, i. e. defending the rights of Athens against Philip.

*ἐφ' ᾧ ἔστι νῦν*, upon which he is now engaged; *ἐπὶ*, with

the genitive, here expresses intentness of mind, i. q. *περὶ ἀσπονδάζει*. WOLF.

§ 4. Συμβαίνει δὲ πρᾶγμα, *The result is*, etc.

· ἴσως, in an affirmative sense, *very*.

ἔχει. The inf., which is also the vulg. reading, is supported by the normal Codex (Σ), and nearly all the others of the most acknowledged authority. Bekker has the ind. ἔχει, from one Codex Υ (cf. RUED). They err, however, who regard ταῦτ' as an accusative. The dialectic writers used συμβαίνει simply to denote the conclusion of a syllogism, which is then put in the nom. with the infin. Cf. BERNHARDY, *Gr. Synt.* p. 332, who adduces the following passage from Plato's *Phaed.* : τάδε ἡμῖν συμβαίνει, τῷ μὲν θεῷ . . . ὁμοιότατον εἶναι ψυχῇ. The expression συμβαίνει εἶναι means simply ἐστίν. See many similar examples collected by ZEUXIUS *ad VIGER.* p. 305. Hence it appears that ταῦτ' and the words connected with it are a mere explanation of πρᾶγμα, and consequently in apposition with it. This will appear more plainly, if we look at the order of construction : ἀναγκαῖον πρᾶγμα συμβαίνει δὲ . . . ταῦτ' ἄμεινον ἐκατέρωθεν ἔχειν, ἐν οἷς, *κ. τ. λ.*

§ 5. δικαιότερα, i. e. proving that your cause is *more equitable* than Philip's.

τὰ παρόντ', *the present difficulties*. Cf. *Or. de Pace* init.

προελθόντα . . . λήσει. The verb λαρθάνω joined with a participle has the signification of the Lat. adv. *clam*, and the part. is rendered as a finite verb. Cf. VIGER. p. 258 : KUEHNER, *Gr.* § 310. 4 (1.). Render, *and not advance still farther wholly without our knowledge*.

ἐπιστήσεται. "Hæc vox in medio habet notionem subito imminendi sibi adjunctam; hinc Reiskii conjectura περιστήσεται per se corruiť."

ἀρτᾶραι. This verb is employed sometimes with and sometimes without a direct object. THUC., III. 32, uses it with χεῖρας. XEN. *Cyr.* V. 4, ἢ μέρτοι τις τῶν ἐμῶν ὄπλα ἀρτᾶσθαι σοι. BEKK. *Anecd.* ἀρτᾶσαι : ἀρτᾶρίσασθαι, *to resist*. Cf. *Olynth.* II. 24.

αὐτὸς τρόπος (sc. αἰστέως ἐστὶ), *Non eadem profecto consulendi ratio, quæ prius est adhibenda.* LUCCHES.

§ 6. εἴ τις . . . . θαυμάζω. Cf. *Phil* I. § 43.

τοῦτο, i. e. this increase of power.

ἐγ' ἑμαῖς, i. q. καθ' ἑμῶν, εἰς τὸ καταδουλώσασθαι ἑμαῖς.

H. WOLF.

δεηθῆναι . . . . βούλομαι. Cf. *Or. de Cor.* § 6, ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὁμοίως ἑμῶν, ἀζοῦσαί μιν.

διὰ βραχέων, *briefly.* *Ut meas rationes paucis audiat.* WOLF. λογισμοῖς signifies conclusions to which he has arrived by *reflection*.

δι' οὗς . . . . δι' ὧν. διὰ with the acc. refers to the reasons on account of which he apprehends the contrary; with the gen. it indicates the circumstances themselves by which he has been led to such conclusions. With δι' ὧν understand πραγμάτων. Cf. RÜED. ad *Olynth.* I. 12.

παρίστανε. The pres. mid. παρίσταται used impersonally signifies, *it occurs to me, it comes into my mind*; the perf. act., which is used as mid., signifies that the impression has ripened to conviction, answering to the Latin *stat mihi sententia, persuasum est*, etc.

βέλτιον τῶν ἄλλων. “Cod. *Dresd.* τῶν ἄλλων servat et celeberrimus HERMANN mihi scribit ‘nihil est causæ cur τῶν ἄλλων omittatur.’” RÜED. Cf. *Or. de Pace*, § 11. — προσοᾶν, *see into the future.*

οἱ . . . . πεπιστευκότες, *Those who put their faith in Philip.*

προσθήσεσθε, *That you may take sides with them.* Προστίθεμαί σοι is said for μετὰ σοῦ γίγνομαι. DEM. in *Epist. Phil.* p. 154, § 6, ὅποτέροις προσθεῖτο, τούτους ἐποίησεν νικητῆν, *whomsoever he joined he made victorious.* Cf. farther, *Or. de Cor.* § 39, § 195, and *infra*, § 12.

§ 7. λογίζομαι, *I take this view of the subject.*

Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν, z. τ. λ. Three years before this oration was delivered, directly after the ratification of peace, OL. 108. 2, Philip took possession of the strait of Thermopylæ,



and, advancing into Phocis, destroyed the cities and reduced the inhabitants to submission. The Phocians, who were allies of Athens, had not been included in the treaty, Philip pretending that he did not wish to irritate the Thebans. The ambassadors who had been sent to receive Philip's oaths to the treaty had scarcely returned to Athens, when the news came that he was already within the Thermopylae, and it was then too late to assist the Phocians. These circumstances are related by DEM. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 57 et seqq., and *Or. de Cor.* § 32 et seqq. Cf. LIBAN. *Arg. Or. de Pace*, and WACHSMUTH, *Gr. Antiq.* I. 346.

ἡ Θηβαίους . . . προέλετο, *He preferred to pursue a policy which was advantageous to the Thebans and unfavorable to the city.*

Τί δὴ ποτε; *Quid tandem?* The orator now proceeds to scrutinize in a masterly manner the policy of Philip, and putting himself, as it were, in his position, he reasons out his motives and probable intentions.

πλεονεξίαν. This word, used either concerning individuals or states, signifies *the desire to gain more than the laws or treaties permit.*

πρὸς, *in reference to.* The force of the preposition is continued to τὸ . . . ποιήσασθαι, which is added by way of explanation, and not as another principle of action. This is one of the cases, frequent with Demosthenes, where the general and special notion are put in the same regimen. Cf. BREMI ad *Phil.* I. § 28. The expression is almost the same as Philip himself employs in announcing his conquest of Phocis to the Athenians: καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα ἐγ' ἐαυτοὺς πεποιημένους. The letter is preserved in DEM. *Or. de Cor.* § 39.

τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐξετάζων, *reasoning, making his calculations.* Demosthenes represents Philip as regulating his entire policy according to the principle of self-aggrandizement, uninfluenced by any consideration of peace or equity.

§ 8. εἶδε τοῦτ' ὀρθῶς, Cod. Σ and BEKKER. Vulg. οἶδε τ. ὁ.

*He justly perceived this, etc. He judged us correctly in supposing that we were above any thing he was able to offer.*

ἡθεσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις, *nostris moribus*, i. e. *to a people of our character.* Cf. DISSEN ad *Or. de Cor.* § 114.

τοσοῦτον. This, which is the reading of Cod. N. seems more suitable than the vulg. τοιοῦτον, since the orator refers rather to the magnitude than to the nature of the inducement.

τιράς, i. e. the Lacedæmonians, whose power Philip wished to destroy. Cf. inf. § 15.

προόουσθε, *sacrifice.* 2. a. opt. m. προΐημι.

διεαίον λόγον ποιοῦμενοι. Ποιεῖσθαι λόγον with the genitive, *to make an account of, to esteem highly.* Cf. VIGER. p. 289. From ἀλλὰ he proceeds with great confidence, and this particle is employed to introduce what is certain and settled. I transcribe the translation of Wolf: *Sed et justitiæ rationem habentes et dedecus cum ea re conjunctum fugientes et omnia quæ decet providentes æque adversaturos esse, si quid tale conaretur, ac si bellum gereretis.* ὥσπερ ἂν (sc. ἐναντιωθήητε.)

§ 9. ἀντὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων, z. τ. λ. *Render, in return for the benefits accruing to them, would in future allow him to do as he pleased.* Philip put them in possession of Orchomenus and Coronea, cities of Bœotia, which they had long coveted. Cf. infra, § 13. DEM. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 141.

οὐχ ὅπως, *not only not; equivalent to οὐ μόνον οὐ.* VIGER. p. 432, and HERM. p. 788. There is no necessity for supplying a negative. Cf. *Or. de Cor.* § 131; *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 60. Concerning the subject itself, see BRUECKNER, *König Philip*, pp. 187, 198.

κατὰ ἐπιληψὸς, *forming the same judgment, viz. as he had done in regard to the Thebans.* The orator narrates below, § 15, in what these benefits to Messene and Argos consisted.

§ 10. καθ' ὑμῶν, *upon, in respect to you.* Cf. MATTH.

Gr. § 581; Or. de Cor. § 215, ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καὶ ἡμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα; Or. de Fal. Leg. § 84, αἱ κατὰ Θηβαίων ἐλπίδες.

ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων, from these facts, i. e. from these judgments of Philip, it is evident that you alone, etc. Construe, γὰρ [ἡμεῖς] μόνοι τῶν πάντων κέκρισθε ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων ἄν προσέσθαι τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων μηδενὸς κέρδους. — ἄν with inf. likely, as in Phil. I. § 31. Concerning the gen. with verbs signifying to barter or to exchange, cf. MATTH. Gr. § 364.

ἀνταλλάξασθαι. Cf. DEM. Or. de Fal. Leg. § 223, καὶ οὐκ ἀνταλλακτέον εἶναι μοι τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίαν οὐδενὸς κέρδους. Sometimes the prep. ἔνεκα is added to this gen., as Or. de Class. § 32.

ὥς ἐτέρως. Wolf considers ὥς redundant in this passage, from which Schaefer dissents, regarding ὥς as exclamatory: "Non abundat, sed auget vim adverbii quasi dicas *ut aliter!*" But these learned critics, as well as Ruediger, who renders ganz anders, have overlooked the correspondence between οὕτως — ὥς, καὶ — καὶ, in this passage. The orator means that the judgment of Philip was equally correct in both cases; literally rendered: he thought these things rightly, both so concerning you as also the contrary concerning the Argives and Thebans. Cf. DEM. Or. de Cor. § 85, where the learned Boeckh interprets ὥς ἐτέρως so wie anders, which may be correctly applied here. On οὕτως — ὥς, see PASSOW, Gr. Lex.; HOM. II. IV. 178; OD. IV. 148.

τὰ πρὸ τούτων, the past, our previous history.

§ 11. Εὐρίσκει γὰρ, κ. τ. λ. Comperit legens in annalibus et accepit ab hominum fama. REISKE.

ἔξον, κ. τ. λ. See supra, § 3. The sense is, When it was in their power to rule the rest of Greece, provided they acknowledged allegiance to the king of Persia, not only spurning that proposal, etc. ὥστε = ἐφ' ὧτε, so, i. e. on condition that. KUEHNER, Gr. Gr. § 341. 3. d.

Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τοῦτων πρόγονος, *the ancestor of these Macedonian princes*. The circumstance here alluded to occurred in the Persian war. Xerxes, on returning to his dominions after the battle of Salamis, left Mardonius, with an army of 300,000 men, to finish the subjugation of Greece. Mardonius, hoping to attain this object easier by corruption, sent Alexander, king of Macedonia, known by the cognomen of Φιλέλλην, to offer to the Athenians the undisturbed possession of their own country, and whatever foreign territory they might choose, if they would enter into an alliance with the Persians. The Athenians rejected the proposition with indignation, and bade Alexander tell Mardonius, that "as long as the sun held on his course they would never ally themselves with the king of Persia, but, trusting to the protection of the gods and heroes whose temples and images he had destroyed, they would oppose him to the utmost of their power." They also warned Alexander not to venture to insult them a second time with such a message. At the same time they returned this answer to the Spartans, who had sent an embassy to admonish them of their duty: "Think not that any sum of gold is so great, or any land so fair and fruitful, as to purchase our obedience to the Medes, and to induce us to aid in reducing the Greeks to slavery." Incensed by their obstinacy, Mardonius again let loose his hordes upon the country, and captured Athens the second time, most of the inhabitants of which had taken refuge in Salamis. The offer was repeated to the fugitives upon the same terms, and again as firmly rejected. As, however, Lycidas, one of the senators, showed an inclination to yield, and attempted to persuade the rest, he was stoned to death by the senators and people; his wife and children shared the same fate from the women. Not long after, Mardonius evacuated Athens, having first demolished the remaining temples and walls. This was followed in the same year (Ol. 75. 2), by the victory of Plataea and the glorious battle won by Cimon over the



Persian fleet at Mycale. HERODOT. VIII. and IX. ; THUC. I. 18 ; LUCCHES. *Hist. Pref. Or. de Class.* ; JACOBS, *Ann.* ad h. 1.

*γλίσσονται*, aim at, strive for with zealous adulation.

*λέγειν*. The difference between this and *εἰπεῖν* is, that the former represents the act of speaking as going on, whereas the aorist expresses a completed action, indicating the result or sum of what is said.

*τῷ κείνῳ*. *ἐκεῖνος* and *κεῖνος* were both used by the Attics, the former, however, much more frequently. The expression *τὰ κείνου* occurs in *Or. de Class.* § 34. Cf. LOBECK ad PHRYN. p. 7.

*τῷ λόγῳ τις ἂν εἴποι*, als man mit Worten aussprechen kann. JACOBS. The Greek language is extremely rich in pleonastic formulas, which, uniting the general and particular or the abstract and concrete, exhibit a wonderful degree of exactness, and at the same time completeness of expression. In the effort to make the idea, as it were, objectively visible, it did not scorn combinations which in any modern language would be intolerable. I need only adduce one or two examples : *τοὺς γάσσοιτας τῷ λόγῳ*, DEM. *Aristog.* II. p. 807, where frequent repetition wants little of the duration expressed by *λέγεσθαι λόγῳ*, EURIP. *Hēl.* v. 1054, or *πόρους πορεῖν*, PLATO, *Symp.* p. 42.

*τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίους . . . προγόρους*. This acc. depends on the verbs *ἐνόςζει* and *ἀκούει*.

*συστρατεύσαντας τῷ βασιβασι*. HERODOT. (VI. 108) relates that the Thebans assisted Xerxes in his expedition against Greece. XENOPHON (*Hellen* VII.) says, that they alone of the Greeks fought on Xerxes's side at the battle of Plataea, and never afterwards made war against him. The Argives also, when they were solicited by the other states to join their confederacy, declined to do so, and, as the Lacedaemonians rejected the conditions of peace that were offered, they embraced the cause of the Persians. HERODOT. VII. 148 ; RUED. *Hist. Com.* ; LUCCHES. p. 382.

§ 12. Οἶδεν οὖν, z. τ. λ., *He knows, therefore, that both will consult their private advantage.* *Ἀγὰρ* is construed by Demosthenes with the acc., when it signifies *to aim at, to attend to*, as below, § 19; with the dat. when it signifies *to be content with something, to acquiesce in*, etc.

ἐπὶ τοῖς δίκαισις. The prep. ἐπὶ denotes the condition: *on terms of justice.* In like manner, DEM. Or. de Cor. § 87, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῖτοισι ἔγασσαν τὴν συμμαχίαν πεποιθῆσθαι, *non iis se conditionibus coisse societatem dicere.* WOLF. The idea is, If Philip, knowing the principles of the Athenians, should choose them for his friends, he could not require from them any thing inconsistent with those principles.

τότε καὶ νῦν. When several adverbs of time are employed together, and one of them denotes the present time, the Greeks were accustomed to put the verb modified by them in the present time. Soph. Antig. v. 181, ed. ВОРЕСКАЯ:

μάκιστος εἶναι νῦν τε καὶ πάλαι δοκεῖ.

Demosthenes, Or. de Cor. § 31, speaking of his colleagues in the embassy corrupted by Philip, says, καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ ὁμολογῶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι τοῖτοισι.

Οὐ γὰρ δὲ. Aware that other motives might be assigned for Philip's preference of Thebes and Argos as allies, than those he imputes to him, the orator meets these imaginary objections to his views. He does not prefer them on account of their superior strength, "for he does not find them in the possession of more ships, at least, than you," etc. We have already noticed (*Phil. I. 16*) that Athens could man at least, 300 ships of war. Isocrates (*Panegyri. 31* ed. FELTON) says the Athenians possessed more vessels of war than all the other states together.

οὐδ' ἐν. The negat. οὐδ' is to be referred to ἀφίστηναι. The sense is, *Nor, although he has obtained a certain inland dominion, does he scorn that of the sea and of commerce.* Some prefer to interpret τὴν ἀρχὴν *satis amplum imperium*,

intimating that, if Philip's empire on land were sufficiently extensive, he would renounce the rule of the sea. But it is more consistent with the view which Demosthenes everywhere takes of Philip's insatiable ambition, to understand *τινα* in its most indefinite sense. Concerning the phrase, *δοχὴν εὐόρηξε*, cf. *Or. in Mid.* § 196, *μεγάλην δόχην . . . εὐόρηξός.*

*ἐποσχέσεις.* That is, the promises which Philip made to the ambassadors of Athens in the so-called *False Legation*, though Philip denied that he had, either through them or in his letters, made any such promises. Cf. LIBANIUS'S Argument to this oration, and *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 39, et seqq. I transcribe the following remarks of Lucchesini on this subject (*Hist. Annot. ad Or. de Pace*, p. 363): *Facta concione renuntiavit Æschines quid actum foret, atque addidit regem promittere, nullum se damnum Phocensibus illaturum, instauraturum Thespias Plateamque, Thebanos depressurum, ipsis pecuniam Delphico Apollini restituendam, imperaturum, quam Phocenses abstulerant, res Thraciæ compositurum, pro Amphipoli denique daturum Eubæam.* Cf. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 20 et seq.

§ 13. *πάντα ταῦτ' εἰδώς* (sc. Philip), *knowing all this*, i. e. aware of the venal selfishness of Thebes and Argos, as well as of their inferior naval advantages.

*τῷ . . . ἀξιούν.* The art. *τῷ* introduces the reason. Lat. *quod.* Cf. VIGER. p. 16. Render, *because the demands of the Thebans were more just than ours.* "Postulaverant autem Thebani, ut Orchomenus, Coronea aliaque Bæotiae oppida in suam potestatem redigerentur." FRANKE. In the following clause, *καὶ* before *μόρον* is intensive, and may be rendered by *certainly*: *Of all reasons, this certainly it is not in his power to urge.*

*πῶς ἄρ.* Take the words in the following order: *πῶς ἄρ . . . σήψατο πεποικίλαι τῷ νομίξειν ταῦτ' εἶναι δίκα.* WOLF: *Quo pacto, Orchomeno et Coronea tum Thebanis tradita, se illa fecisse, quod æqua esse putaret simulabit?*

The grammarians explain *σκήπτεσθαι* by *προσασίζεσθαι*. RYED. The history of Messene had been that of a perpetual struggle to maintain its independence against the encroachments of Sparta. At length, wearied out and continually in danger of being overpowered, they invited Philip to come to their assistance. Whereupon Philip, forming an alliance with them and some other states of the Peloponnesus, ordered the Lacedæmonians to evacuate the Messenian territories. PAUSAN. IV. 27; RYED. *Comment. Hist.* p. 155; LUCCHES. ad *Or. de Megal.* p. 222.

§ 14. Ἄλλ' ἐβιάσθη (sc. εἶποι τις αὖ). Cf. *Or. de Pace*, § 22.

*παρὰ πρόωμν* is equivalent to *ἄνωρ*, *against his will*. Cf. *infra*, § 16.

*ἐν μέσῳ λησθείς*, *surrounded by*. This verb in the passive often denotes merely the condition. Cf. *Phil.* I. § 18.

*Θετταλῶν*. The Thessalians aided Philip in the Phocian war. Their strength consisted in their excellent cavalry which numbered above 3000, and if circumstances required, could be increased to double that number. XEN. *Hellen.* VI. 1. 8. Cf. DIOD. SIC. XVI. 59.

*συγχώρησε ταῦτα*, *he agreed to these conditions*. HERODOT. IX. 35, *συγχωρεῖν εἰρήνην*, *to agree to a treaty of peace*. Cf. the Latin *concedere*, which is etymologically equivalent to *συγχωρεῖν*, and agrees with it in its intransitive and transitive meaning.

*Καλῶς*, said ironically.

*ἐπόπτως ἔχειν* is used in an active sense for *ἐποπτεύειν*. The verb *μέλλειν* very finely indicates a growing distrust towards the Thebans; as we should say, *he is getting suspicious*. DEM. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 132, *δυσκόλως τ' ἔχειν καὶ ἐπόπτως πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον*.

*λογοποιούσι περιόρτες*. Cf. *Phil.* I. § 48, note. Elateia was the largest city of Phocis, though Delphi, on account of its temple, etc., was more celebrated. ВѢСКИ, *Staatsh.* II. 372. It was situated near the foot of the Œtean moun-



tains, on or near the river Cephissus. It was considered a very important military position, by reason of its commanding the great thoroughfare from Thessaly into Phocis and Bœotia. At the close of the Phocian war, the fortifications of Elateia, as well as those of all the other Phocian cities, twenty-two in number, were, according to a decree of the Amphictyons, levelled with the ground, Ol. 108. 3. By his kindness afterward to the conquered Phocians, Philip excited the suspicion that he was about to rebuild the walls of Elateia. *τειχεῖν*. Attic fut., denoting intention.

§ 15. *μέλλει καὶ μελήσει*. “Significat *μέλλω et futurum tempus et moram*. Eleganter igitur ludit amphibolia significationis.” WOLF.

*συμβάλλειν*. The prep. *σύν* in comp. governs the dat.; it conveys here the notion of *help*. Bekker in his ed. of 1816, and Auger, *συνεισβάλλειν*; vulg. *συνεσβάλλειν*. The reading of the Cod. *Σ* has been justly approved by Bekker in his subsequent ed., and by the recent editors; there being no allusion to any invasion.

*αὐτός ἐστι προσδύκιμος*, *He is expected in person*, viz. in Peloponnesus.

*ὄντας* emphatically signifies the *present*.

*ἀναιρεῖν*. This should be understood simply as implying *the endeavor to destroy*. Demosthenes uses a strong term, in order to heighten the absurdity of such an opinion.

*ἀπόλυσεν*. In obedience to the decree of the Amphictyons alluded to in § 14, the inhabitants of the twenty-two Phocian cities taken by Philip were separated into villages of fifty houses each, which were not allowed to be less than a stadium from one another. БОЕКН, *Staatsh.* II. 373. Demosthenes thus describes the deplorable aspect of the country: “as we came to Delphi, we were forced to witness all these things: houses torn down, walls levelled with the ground, the country destitute of men able to bear arms, nothing but wretched females, a few boys and miserable old men, — no one can describe the desolation that reigns there.” *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 65.

σώζει = ἀρασώζει, *restores*, in the sense of the fut.

§ 16. οὐδ' ἂν ἤπονα. The particle ἂν is to be referred to ἐναντιοῦσθαι. Auger and Reiske from the *Dresd.* and *Bav.* MSS. read οὐκ ἂν. So Bekker also.

οὔτ' — οὔτ' deny each hypothesis separately, and thereby strengthen the general negation. The following is the exposition of Reiske: *sive coactum et invitum Philippum illud prius ais fecisse, ut scilicet Thebanis Orchomenum et Coroneam condonaret, sive nunc de constantia et fide Thebanorum desperare; non potest expulari causa ulla probabilis, cur Thebanorum inimicos, Lacedæmonios atque Phocenses, odiis tam implacabilibus insectetur, id quod facit. Ergo neque olim coactus indulsit Thebanis, quæ indulsit, neque nunc malevolo erga eos est animo suspectosve habet. Falsa ergo sunt ea, quæ nostrates de Philippi cum Thebanis rationibus suspicantur et jactant.*

ἀπετήρωσε. Cf. *Phil.* I. § 42. Render, *Nor if he has now given up the Thebans despairing of their aid.* The Thebans actually formed a league with the Athenians against Philip not long after. LUCCHES.

ἐκ πάντων, *on the whole.* This, as well as the preceding ἐκ προαιρέσεως, is used adverbially. Cf. VIGER. p. 597.

συντέττωρ, *plotting, machinating.* Supply διζῶς ἐστί from the preceding. Cf. *Or. de Cor.* § 61 et seq., where Demosthenes treats more fully of the distracted state of Greece at the period here alluded to, expatiating particularly upon Philip's artful interference to heighten the discord.

§ 17. τούτων τιν', acc. abs. *in some measure, quodammodo.* Cf. *Or. de Cherson.* § 41.

νῦν γε δὲ, *nunc certe quidem.* FRANKE. *He is now, as it were, compelled to follow this course.*

Οἷς — οὖσαν ὑμετέροις, *which are in effect yours.*

τούτοις, dat. of instr. The sense is, *By means of these places of yours he holds his other possessions in security.* A glance at a map of Ancient Greece will make the idea clear; these towns formed a line of defensive positions

before Macedonia. The editions previous to Bekker have *χρησθαι* after *ἔχει*, which he, following Cod. Σ, discarded. Ruediger defends it.

*οὐδ' ἂν . . . ἥξειτο, ne domi quidem se tuto posse manere duceret.* WOLF.

§ 18. *Εὖ φροσεῖρ δ' ἑμῶς ἐπολαυβάρων, &c. λ., Regarding you as men of sense, he would naturally think, etc.* Schaefer defends Bekker's reading, *ρομύζει*, citing the concurrence of Reiske: *Nam ἂν neque ad istud neque ad hoc refertur, sed ad μισεῖν. Existimat, vos se si exosi sitis, meritum odisse.* This explanation is not quite satisfactory. What Philip thinks is here only a conjecture on the part of the orator; and an inference thus drawn from circumstances would be fitly expressed by the optative. The argument is this: *He is conscious of having injured you, and knows that you are aware of his machinations, and, as he believes you to possess good sense, he would justly suppose that you hate him.*

*παροξύρται*, third pers. sing. of *παροξύρειν*, to goad on, to spur. MATTH. Gr. § 191. 3. *Phil.* III. 36. Cf. *Olynth.* I. 6, *γρηὺς δεῖν ἐθελῆσαι καὶ παροξυνθῆναι καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ προσέχειν.*

*τι*, vulg. *τι κακὸν*, which is clearly a gloss. The expression, *πύσχειν τι* is too familiar to need illustration. WOLF: *Et concitatus est, se aliquid accepturum putans, si occasionem nanciscamini, nisi ipse anteverterit.* AUGER and REISKE, *πρότερος γθιάσῃ ποιήσας.* Bekker corrected from the best MSS. *γθιάσῃ ποιήσας πρότερος.* Matthiä (Gr. § 554) regards *πρότερον* in such constructions as pleonastic.

*ἐγρηγόρεν.* The pres. of this verb, *ἐγείρω*, *I rouse, wake*, was not Attic; the form in the text is a sec. perf. and intransitive, *is awake*. From this perf. originated a later form, *ἐγρηγόρέω*. LOBECK *ad Phryn. Ecl.* p. 119.

*ἐγέστυζεν.* Bekker places a comma after this word, and connects *ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει* with *θεραπεύει*, in which he has been followed by Baiter and Sauppe in their recent ed., Basle.

1816. But cf. *Or. de Cor.* § 176, τὰν ἐγχεστιζότα κίρδνον τῇ πόλει.

Θηβαίους. Cod. Σ. Bekker retains the vulg. Θηβαίον, but τινὲς does not refer to *individuals*, but *states*.

τούτοις, sc. the Thebans.

§ 19. σκαιότιτα τρόπον, *stupidity of mind*. The Athenians disliked the Thebans for their vulgar selfishness, and despised them for their stupidity. Demosthenes frequently alludes to them with contempt; as *Or. de Cor.* § 43, ἀραίσ-θητοι Θηβαῖοι, and *Or. de Pace*, § 15. Cf. *HOR. Ep. II. I.* 244,

Bœotûm in crasso jurares aëre natum.

PIND. *Olymp. VI.*, τῇρ πάλει λαιδογίᾳ, Βοιωτίαν ἔν, ἀποτρέψατες. Turreil renders this passage: *Qu'il croit trop intéressés pour résister aux attraits d'un profit présent, et trop stupides pour prévoir aucune des suites funestes de leur engagement.*

Καίτοι, κ. τ. λ., *quamquam*. Cf. *HERM. ad VIGER.* p. 837. *And yet those at least who possess even a moderate share of acuteness can see plain proofs*, sc. of his bad faith, and the evil consequences of trusting his professions. The orator here introduces a portion of the oration delivered on his embassy to Messene and Argos. It is a feature worthy of notice in the political intercourse of the Grecian states, that able orators were generally chosen as ambassadors, who were permitted to act directly on the minds of the people to whom they were sent. The embassy here referred to was sent probably about Ol. 108. 4. Philip had conciliated the friendship of the Messenians, Argives and Arcadians, and, fomenting their ancient hatred towards the Lacedæmonians, he promised to send troops to help them chastise the pride of the latter. Demosthenes and some others of the leading statesmen at Athens were thereupon deputed to the Peloponnesus for the purpose of dissuading them from this league. This is not to be confounded with the



embassy in Ol. 109. 2, which is mentioned in *Phil.* III. sub. fin. Cf. WINIEWSKI, *Hist. Com. Or. de Cor.*, pp. 137, 152; RUED. *Hist. Com. Phil.* III. p. 186.

§ 20. γὰρ. This particle doubtless refers to something said before in the same oration. The inf. ἀκούειν is the pres. instead of the perf. Also in the following λέγοι and προσδοξᾷ the present lends greater vividness to the illustration. AUGER: *Quam ægre, inquit, Messenii, audituros fuisse putatis Olynthios, si quis quid dixisset in Philipppum illis temporibus quum Anthemuntem eis concederet.*

Ἀνθεμονῖα. Anthemus was a city of Macedonia in the neighborhood of Olynthus, the possession of which had long been an object of contention between that city and the kings of Macedonia. THUC. II. 99; HERODOT. V. 94; VOEM. *Proleg. ad Phil.* I. § 16. It was probably ceded to the Olynthians by Philip at the same time with Potidæa. RUED. p. 157.

ἀποίκους. Colonists sent thither after the place was taken by Timotheus, the Athenian general, Olymp. 104. 1. The word ἀποικοι is often used for κληροῦχοι, i. e. those to whom the lands of a conquered city were assigned by lot. Cf. THUC. V. 116. C. F. HERM. *Gr. Antiq.* § 117.

For the construction ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, cf. supra, § 3. DEM. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 85. *Sich freiwillig mit unserm Hasse belastete und jenen die Benutzung des Landes verstatete.* JACOBS. Observe the change to the pluperf.: he gave Anthemus and Potidæa to the Olynthians, and therefore had incurred our enmity, etc.

ἄρα . . . τουῦτα πέσεσθαι, *Do you imagine they expected to suffer such calamities (as they have suffered)?*

λέγοντος ἢ τινος. When a participle expresses a condition, the particle ἢ is very frequently joined with it. GOELLER *ad THUC.* I. 10. The expression is equivalent to εἴ τις λέγοι. Cf. *Phil.* III. § 1; MATTH. *Gr.* § 598.

§ 21. τὴν ἀλλοτριάν, sc. χώραν. πάλιν. Supply χρόνον, from the preceding. According to the customs of Grecian

warfare, the entire possessions of the vanquished passed into the hands of the conquerors. The owners were either forcibly driven from their homes, or sold as slaves. Sometimes the men were put to death, and the women and children retained as slaves. DIOD. SIC. XII. 46. In cases of extreme lenity, they were allowed to rent the lands from their new masters. BOECKH, *Staatsh.* pp. 458, 462.

αἰσχρῶς ἐκπεσόντες, ignominiously driven forth. ἐκπεσόντες dicuntur qui sedem, regnum, bona amittunt. Cf. XEN. *Hellen.* V. 1. RUED.

προδοθέντες . . . προθήντες. Olynthus was betrayed into the hands of Philip by its two chief magistrates, Euthycrates and Lasthenes, whom the king had corrupted by money and other presents. Cf. DEM. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 265. Diodorus Siculus (Lib. XVI. 52) informs us that Philip plundered the city and sold the inhabitants into slavery. Cf. THIRLWALL, *Hist. Greece*, Vol. V. p. 314. The traitors perished by a miserable death. *Or. de Cherson.* § 40; VOEM. *Proleg. ad Phil.* I. p. 106.

πολιτείας, democratic states. Cf. *Phil.* I. § 48.

αὐται λίαν ὀμιλία, these too close friendships. αὐται is significant, and may be rendered *such*, that is, as you are about to contract with Philip. λίαν construed with a subst. Cf. XEN. *Hellen.* II. 1, τὴν λίαν ὕψος. The inexpediency of such alliances of republics with monarchs is noticed by our orator in *Olynth.* I. § 5: καὶ ὅλως ἄπιστον, οἶμαι, ταῖς πολιτείας ἢ τυραννίς, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁμοῖον χάρον ἔχουσι.

§ 22. Τί δ' οἱ Θετταλοί; This is probably an abbreviation of the very common interrogative phrase for Τί δοξοῦσι ὑμῖν οἱ Θετταλοί; concerning which ellipsis, vid. BERNHARDY, *Gr. Syntax*, p. 352. The sense of the question is quite the same as in § 20, Πῶς γὰρ οἶεσθ', &c. &c.

αὐτοῖς. Dat. of advantage, adopted by BEKKER from Cod. Σ, instead of the vulg. αὐτῶν. BREMI interprets, *quum iis*, — *in eorum salutem*, — *tyrannos ejiceret*. This event occurred, according to WINIEWSKI, in Ol. 106. 4,

and again in Ol. 109. 1. Cf. DIOD. SIC. XVI. 69. The former is the one here referred to. Cf. WIN. p. 49, note. Vid. also *Olynth.* I. § 13.

*Νίξαια*. This city, of which no mention is made by the ancient historians, was situated on the coast a little east of the strait of Thermopylæ. It was important chiefly on account of its position. Magnesia was a narrow tract of country lying along the eastern coast of Thessaly, inhabited by the Magnes. There was also a city of the same name, as we are informed by the Scholiast ad APOLLON. RHOD. I. 584: *Μαγνησία δὲ πόλις τῇ χώρῃ ὁμώνυμος ἔχων εὐδωκίαν καὶ παραθυλίαν*. Philip had wished to fortify this city, but was prevented by the Thessalians. Cf. *Olynth.* I. § 22; RUED. *Hist. Com.* p. 158.

*δεκαδουχίαι*. Demosthenes speaking of the same events, in *Phil.* III. § 26, asks, Ἀλλὰ Θετταλία πῶς ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρῆργηται καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύωσι; i. e. *But what is the condition of Thessaly? Has he not abolished their republics and their cities, and established Tetrarchies, that they may be enslaved, not only by cities, but by nations?* This apparent self-contradiction has been the subject of endless controversy ever since the time of Harpocration (circa 350 A. D., VOEM.), who denies downright that Philip established *δεκαδουχίας* in Thessaly. The following are his words: Φίλιππος μέντοι παρὰ Θετταλοῖς δεκαδουχίας οὐ κατέστησεν, ὥς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ Φιλιππιῶν (now called the *Second Philippic*) Δημοσθένους, ἀλλὰ τετραρχίας. Agreeably with this, many eminent critics, both in ancient and modern times, have adopted the opinion that *δεκαδουχίαι* in the text should be changed to *τετραρχίαι*. But Demosthenes speaks of one *decadarchy* and of several tetrarchies, in addition to which the difference in the signification of the words could scarcely have allowed any one to confound them. For *δεκαδουχία* (I adopt the lucid exposition of VOEMEL), as used by Isocrates and

Demosthenes, signifies a *decemvirate*, a college of *decenvirs*, who possessed the supreme authority, like the *decadarchies* established by the Lacedæmonians, and the decemvirates of the Romans. *Τετραρχία*, a *tetrarchy*, on the contrary, signified *præfecturam quartæ partis terræ*, the province governed by a *tetrarch*, or simply his office. It is agreed among all, that Philip did not institute *decadarchies* in the above sense in Thessaly. JACOBS thinks that, after expelling the tyrants, he introduced a new form of government, which the orator designates by the term *δεκαδουχία*, on account of the odium attached to that word arising from the oppressions of the Lacedæmonian oligarchies; and therefore that it is not to be understood literally as denoting any specific form of government, but a heavy yoke of oppression forced upon the cities of Thessaly. In this view he is followed by WACHSMUTH, *Gr. Antiq.* I. 2, p. 276, and hence also WEISKE (*de Hyperbole*, P. III. p. 16) considers *δεκαδουχίας* as used by oratorical exaggeration for *τετραρχίας*. But VOEMEL (*Programme of the Frankfort Gymnasium*, Summer-Semest. 1830) has shown, with great learning and critical acuteness, that in reality no contradiction exists between the two statements of Demosthenes. Philip reëstablished the ancient division of Thessaly into four parts, called Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, Pelasgiotis, and Hestiaeotis; over each of these parts he set a *tetrarch*, and, in addition to these, a general government of *ten*, or a *decemvirate*, for the whole of Thessaly. Among other proofs in favor of this view is the example of the traitor Eudicus, who is thus noticed by HARPOCRATION: *Εὐδίκος Ἰμμοσθένης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος* (*Or. de Cor.* § 48). *εἰς δὲ ἔστιν αὐτός τῶν καταστάντων ὑπὸ Φιλίππου πρῶτον Θετταλίας ἀπάσης*. Philip could, therefore, correctly be said to have instituted both *tetrarchies* and a *decadarchy* (*decemvirate*) in Thessaly. In his oration before the Messenians and Argives, however, whom he wishes to prejudice against Philip, Demosthenes prudently employs the more odious term to remind them



of the Lacedæmonian yoke under which they had already suffered so much, and which they then especially dreaded.

τῇρ πύλαια. A seat and vote in the council of Amphictyons at Thermopylæ. The delegates sent to it from all the cities composing the Amphictyonic confederacy were called πύλαγοροι (HARPOCRAT.; cf. ÆSCHIN. *adv. Ctes.* § 124); or πύλαγόροι, as they were sometimes termed. DISSEN. *ad Or. de Cor.* § 154. The Thessalians very anciently belonged to the Amphictyons, but they appear to have forfeited their right to a seat in that council (*jus Thermopylarum*) in consequence of their perfidy in the Phocian war (BRUECKNER, *König Philip*, p. 20); but they recovered it in Ol. 108. 3, through the intercession of the Macedonian monarch. Cf. *Or. de Cherson.* § 65.

τοῦτον designates τὸν — ἀποδότην more pointedly.

προσόδους, *revenues*, duties paid at ports, markets, etc.

οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα is the answer to the preceding question, *By no means*, they had no such expectation.

§ 23. παραχειρομέρον. HARPOCRATION says this word was taken from the tricks of fraudulent dealers, who, in weighing or measuring any commodity, pushed the scale or shook the measure in their own favor. Cf. DEM. *Or. de Cor.* § 276, ὅπως μὴ παραχειρομέσω μηδ' ἐξαπατήσω; where DISSEN says, *Vox significat humilem fraudem, ut constat.* Cf. also F. A. WOLF *ad Lept.* p. 291. JACOBS: *so bittet die Götter nie den Täuschenden und Beträgenden zu sehen.*

θεωρεῖτε — ἰδεῖν. The former is used in allusion to the stage, where he is contemplated from a distance as a magnanimous hero dispensing his benefits; the latter denotes a nearer view, by which the man is seen in his true character.

δῆ, the same as ἥδη, but weaker.

§ 24. Ἐρ δέ τι. The indefinite pronoun, when joined with numerals, conveys the notion of a diminutive. RUED. *At natura hominum, qui mente, et prudentia valent, salutis præsidium in se habet unum, commune omnibus, firmissimum, salutare præsertim vero popularibus imperiis contra tyrannos.* LUCCHES.

τοῖς πλίθεσι. *democratic governments*, used in the same sense as *πολιτείας*, § 21.

ταύτης ἀντέχεσθε. *hold fast to this*. Cf. *Or. de Cor.* § 185, ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας.

οὐδὲν μὴ δεινὸν πάθητε. In negative sentences, the subjunctive is put after *μὴ* or *οὐ μὴ* instead of the future. In such elliptical expressions a word denoting *fear* was implied, corroborating the force of the negation. MATTH. *Gr.* § 516; BERNHARDY, *Gr. Syntax*, p. 102. BREMI: “οὐ φοβιτέον, μὴ δεινὸν τι πάθητε, sed τι cum negatione οὐ coaluit in οὐδὲν.”

§ 25. *Εἴτ’*. Cf. *Phil.* I. § 43.

καὶ, *even*. REISKE supplies the ellipsis thus: οὐ μόνον τὰς γλώσσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας. The idea is, that Philip is the enemy of liberty, even in his titles. Compare with this sentiment *Or. de Cherson.* § 43: πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοῦτο δεῖ, ἐχθρὸν ἐπειληγμέναι τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀδιάλλακτον ἐκείνον.

ρόμοις. I understand this word in the sense of *δημοκρατίας* or *πολιτείας* as distinguished from monarchy and the like, in which sense the word is used by DEM. *Or. contr. Timocr.* § 75, τί ποτ’ ἐστὶν ὃ ρόμος ὀλιγαρχίας διαφέρει, καὶ τί δὴ ποθ’ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ρόμων ἐθέλοντες ἀρχεσθαι σώζονται καὶ χριστοὶ πολῖται ρομίζονται, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν ἀναδρῶν καὶ δοῦλοι. Cf. MEIER *de Bonis Damnat.* p. 2.

Οὐ γυλάξεσθ’. The interrogation with the simple *οὐ*, instead of *οὐκ οὐν* with the ind. fut., has the force of an exhortation. BREMI.

μὴ πολέμῳ. *z. t. l.*, *lest, while you seek to be freed from war*, viz. with the Lacedæmonians, against whom, it will be recollected, the Messenians and others had implored the aid of Philip. Cf. *supra*, § 15. DION. SIC. XVI. 69.

§ 26. θεωροῦντες ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγεται, *declaring with applause that these things were rightly spoken*. Cf. *Or. de Cherson.* § 77, θεωροῦσιν καὶ ἐπαιρέσιν. Ibid. § 31, θεωρεῖτε ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγει.

παρὰ τῶν πρέσβειων. *Nempe ab iis qui una cum Demosthene ad Messenios legati fuerant et quos Demosthenes illic reliquit prius discedens ob causam nobis ignotam.* AUGER.

ὥς ἔοικεν are to be taken with πάλιν ὕστερον. VOEMEL removes the comma after ἔοικεν, so as to connect it with what follows; but this and similar parenthetical expressions with ὥς refer, especially in the orators, to something preceding.

ἄτοπον, *surprising*, because out of season.

εἰ in the sense of ὅτι. See *Phil.* III. § 43.

παρ' ἃ τῷ λογισμῷ, κ. τ. λ., lit. *contrary to what they see by reasoning to the best*, or, as we say, *contrary to what their reason tells them is best, against their convictions.*

§ 27. συνιέντες αὐτοῖ, κ. τ. λ. The reading of the Codex Σ, which has been adopted in the text, is thus defended by FUNKHAENEL: *Duplex pronomēn αὐτοῖ ideo positum, quia duplex oppositio est: nam primum ὑμεῖς αὐτοῖ dixit propter Messenios et Peloponnesi incolas quosdam, tum alterum αὐτοῖ propter verba καὶ . . . ἀκούοντες ἡμῶν; vos ipsi, qui et ipsi intelligitis et ex oratoribus auditis, quæ insidiae vobis parentur, quantum circumvallemini, etc.*

περιτοιχίξεσθε. The vulg. is supported by Codex Σ, and by most of those compared by BEKKER, who, however, himself edits *περιστοιχίξεσθε* with REISKE.

ὥστε in this passage presents that as a condition which is properly to be considered the cause: *so you do nothing now.* This reading of the Codex Σ is fully sustained by the succeeding sentence.

λήσεθ'. Ααρθίρω joined with a participle usually supplies the office of an auxiliary. The sense is, *In consequence of your present inactivity, you will unaware, as I think, suffer all [these evils].*

§ 28. καθ' ἑμᾶς αὐτοῖς, *by yourselves alone*; for it appears that the Peloponnesian ambassadors, as well as those of Philip, were present (cf. *LIBAN. Arg.*), in whose hearing it was not fitting to deliberate upon measures against Philip.

ἂ δὲ ῥῦρ, z. τ. λ., *quæ vero nunc respondentes necessaria decreveritis, ea scilicet dicam.* WOLF. ἀποκριθήσεαι τὰ δέοιτ' ἄρ, i. e. *if you would give a proper answer.* ἄρ is used in a potential sense. Lucchesini refers this reply to the embassy from Philip; *quid autem respondendum Macedonicis legatis decernere debeatis, nunc vobis exponam.* Est modus loquendi Græcis usitatissimus pro *ut respondeatis.* ταῦτα δὲ λέξω. These words lead the reader to expect from the orator a discussion, or at least a recital of the response which he proposes to give the ambassadors in waiting. But instead of this, he proceeds abruptly to inveigh against the perfidious hirelings of the Macedonian, who had deluded them into a disadvantageous and disgraceful peace. Hence, some critics, (among others, OLIVET, LELAND, A. G. BECKER) have been led to believe that through the fault of the copyists, the portion of the oration which treated of this response has been lost. This is, on the other hand, denied by VOEMEL and RUEDIGER (cf. *Proleg. ad Phil.* II. p. 3); the latter conceives that Demosthenes submitted the response at the close of the oration, but on what ground this conjecture rests I am at a loss to imagine. Certainly, such a mode of proceeding would have been quite at variance with the custom of our orator. This manner of introducing a new topic is very common with him, and he invariably satisfies the expectation which such formulas as ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω naturally excite. Compare, for example, *Phil.* I. § 29; *Or. de Cor.* §§ 60, 131, 248; *Phil.* III. § 55. And it is scarcely rational to suppose that he departed from his custom here, where the subject announced was the principal occasion of this oration. Further, there is an evident gap in the text, which it is difficult to explain, except on the supposition that Demosthenes in this place communicated to the Assembly the draft of a response which he had previously prepared (cf. BRUECKNER, *König Philip*, p. 223), in which mention was made of Philip's non-observance of the treaty, and the promises he had indi-



rectly made to the Athenians through Æschines and the other traitorous ambassadors. From such a reply the transition would be easy and natural to the castigation he proceeds to inflict upon those men whom he denounces as the cause of their present difficulties.

τοὺς ἐρεγκόρτας τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς, κ. τ. λ., *the bearers of those promises by which, etc.* Understand esp. Ctesiphon and Aristodemus (cf. *Or. de Cor.* § 18), Neoptolemus, and others (cf. *Or. de Pace*, § 6, and *de Fal. Leg.* § 12 seqq.)

καλεῖν, *to summon* them, that is, to prove that Philip actually made the promises which he now denies (cf. *LIBAN. Arg.*), and to make them responsible to Philip.

§ 29. \* ἂν ποτε ἐπέμειρα. The ind. aor. accompanied by ἂν, particularly when it denotes the consequence of a condition, and both relate to a past action, has the sense of the pluperf. opt. BERNHARDY, *Gr. Synt.* p. 391; ΜΑΤΤΗ. *Gr.* § 508. b. Cf. *Phil.* I. § 5.

Ἀλλ' ἦν. Construe ἀλλὰ τὰ τότε λεγόμενα ἦν πολὺ ἀγεστικώτα τούτων.

καλεῖν, understand again, ἦν δίκαιον.

τοὺς, ὅτ' ἐγὼ . . . λεγόντας, *those who said, when I, etc.* He alludes particularly to Philocrates and Æschines.

τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους, i. e. the embassy sent to Macedonia to receive Philip's oath to the peace. Cf. *DEM. Or. de Fal. Leg.* §§ 57, 18, and *Or. de Cor.* § 25.

αἰσθόμενος φερακιζομένην τὴν πόλιν. It was an express condition of the peace, that the allies of Athens should be included. When the embassy of which Demosthenes was one came to receive the oaths of Philip, the latter excepted from the peace the city of Halus and the Phocians. Demosthenes, immediately on his return to Athens, made known his suspicions of Philip's sincerity, and his apprehensions for the consequences; but the Athenians would not listen to him, and he was at length forced to sit down. It was on this occasion that Philocrates made use of the insulting expression to which the orator alludes in the words

ἔδωρ πύρωρ. "It is no wonder," says he, "that Demosthenes and I differ in opinion, for he drinks water, but I wine." At this the people laughed. Cf. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 45 seq., and BRUECKNER, *König Phil.* p. 207. He said this in allusion to the well-known Greek proverb: ἔδωρ δὲ πύρωρ, χρηστόν οὐδὲν ἄρ τέλεις. For it was a common belief that a poet or orator who drank nothing but water was incapable of glowing or elevated thoughts. *Der Name eines Wassertrinkers*, observes JACOBS, *bezeichnete den geistlosen, nüchternen, aller Erhebung unfähigen*. No better example of the contrary can be adduced than our orator himself, whose abstemiousness frequently drew upon him the ridicule of his enemies. Libanius says of him, ἔδωρ ἐπετίδενε πυρεῖρ, ἵνα ἐργηγοῦνται μᾶλλον παρέχεται τὴν διάνοιαν. *Vit. Dem.* § 4.

καὶ οὐκ ἔδωρ, and I did not consent, i. e. I protested against.

§ 39. παρέλθῃ, sc. through the strait of Thermopylæ. Cf. *Or. de Cor.* § 35.

Θεσπιᾶς — Πλαταιᾶς. These cities of Bœotia were as hostile to the Thebans as they were devoted to the Athenians. This fidelity subjected them to much persecution from the former (THUC. II. 2 and III. 20; also TOURREIL ad h. l.), who at length, in Ol. 101. 3 according to DIOD. SIC. (XV. 46), or in Ol. 101. 4 according to PAUSANIAS (IX. 1), destroyed these cities and expelled the inhabitants. The Plateans took refuge in Athens, where they met with a cordial reception, and were placed on a footing of political equality with Athenian citizens. DIOD. SIC. *ibid.* As the latter had scarcely anything more at heart than the restoration of these cities, the promise of Philip to rebuild and fortify them, as a check upon the insolence of Thebes, was one of the chief inducements to the formation of the treaty. LUCCHES. *Annott. Hist. ad Or. de Megalop.* p. 218; RUED. *Com. Hist.* p. 161. Concerning Thespiæ, cf. *Or. de Pace*, § 10.

Χερσόνησος. The Thracian Chersonesus was the name

given to the peninsula lying north of the Ægean Sea, on the borders of Thrace. It was an ancient possession of Athens (cf. LIBAN. *Arg. ad Or. de Cherson.*), a fertile region, containing in the age here spoken of eleven or twelve cities of considerable size. Philip had engaged to cut through the isthmus, a distance of only thirty-seven stadia, at his own expense, and thus render the peninsula secure from the incursions of the Thracians. This promise was not fulfilled, nor has any one since undertaken it. The most that was done was to rebuild the ancient wall, of which Pliny speaks as if it was still in existence in his day. TOURREIL, p. 314.

Ὠρωπὸν. This was a fortified town, situated near the northern boundary of Attica, not far from the coast. Its position rendered it an important possession for Athens. Compare, on this subject, *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 22.

οὐ δεῖροὶ . . . . μεμῆσθαι. The sense is, *although not inclined to bear anger against those who have injured you.* In *Or. de Corona*, § 99, the orator dwells with pride upon this forbearing spirit of the Athenians.

§ 31. Καὶ τὸ πάντων αἰσχιστον, κ. τ. λ., *And the most disgraceful of all is, that you have made this peace binding even upon your descendants in regard to their hopes.* Philip now had possession of many places heretofore belonging to the Athenians; and as it was expressly stipulated in the treaty that each should keep what he had, and the same obligations extended to their children, it was virtually cutting off all hope of the future recovery of these places. WOLF gives a different interpretation to πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας: *spe freti*; but the view above taken is confirmed by Demosthenes, *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 55, where he handles the same subject.

§ 32. Οὐκ ἴν' refer to the preceding verbs ἐρῶ and ἀποκρύπτω. The sense is, *I will speak freely, not that by descending to recrimination I may procure the chance of speaking on an equality* [with them in using their weapons].

For the only result would be a disgraceful contest, from which they would derive advantage.

ἐξ ἀρχῆς, *from the outset*, that is, since the time when Demosthenes exposed their treachery; up to that time he and Æschines had been excellent friends.

ὡς ἄλλως, *at random*. Wolf and Bekker edit, τῇ ἄλλῳ ἀδολεσχωῶ, *neque ut frustra garriam*. ἀδολεσχωῶ· γλυσσοῶ. HESYCH. In the following sentence ποθ', as referring to indefinite future time, is opposed to ννί. *But I think that Philip's operations will one day vex you more than they do now*. They will be the source of greater calamities than the present. ταννί. BREMI interprets, *præsens rerum conditio*. Cf. inf. § 35.

§ 33. Τὸ γὰρ ποῶγμα, that is, the evil which threatens the city from Philip's enterprises. The common reading is, Τὰ γὰρ πράγματα ὅρῳ προβαίοντα, but the former rests on the best authority. The following τοῦτ' refers to the same.

μηδ' ἀζούηθ'. The order is, μηδ' ἀζούηθ' ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τοῦ δεύρου [λέγοντος] ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἑμαῖς. The prep. ἐπὶ here denotes a hostile aim. Cf. sup. § 6. WOLF: *neque ista contra vos parari et strui ex me audistis aut alio quopiam*.

αὐτοὶ πάντες. So Bekker, from Codd. Σ, F. Ruediger defends πῶθ': Sed ipse nexus neutrum requirit: *si non amplius me vel alium audiveritis hac dicentes vobis imminere, sed ipsi omnia, quæ olim dicta sunt, experiemini*. But ὁρᾶτε and εἰδῆτε do not require an accusative any more than ἀζούηθ', to which they are opposed, and demand a similar construction.

§ 34. ἐφ' οἷς, κ. τ. λ., *on what conditions* (i. e. for what purpose) *they are conscious of having received bribes* (cf. supra, § 12); namely, that they should blind the eyes of the people respecting Philip's designs, and clog all measures brought forward against him.

τοῖς ἐπαροφθοῦν. The order of construction is, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ μὴ συμβῇ τοῖς πεπορευμένοις ἐπαροφθοῦν τι τῶν ἀπολωλότων διὰ



τούτους περιπείσειν τῇ ὀργῇ παρ' ὑμῶν. διὰ τούτους, *by their instrumentality*.

τὰ πολλά, used adverbially for *πολλάκις*, *very often*.

ἐρίους, though commonly employed indefinitely, is meant for the Athenians, in whose summary manner of proceeding, punishment not seldom fell upon the innocent.

τὴν ὀργὴν ἀγιάτας. This corresponds nearly to the English expression *to discharge one's wrath*. The force of the passage is well given by JACOBS: *denn ich bemerke dass einige ihren Zorn nicht gegen die Schuldigen, sondern gegen den ersten auslassen, der ihnen unter die Hände kömmt*. So DEM. *adv. Androt.* § 58: ὧν προσίξέ σοι τὴν ὀργὴν οὐκ εἰς τῶν πολιτῶν τὸν τυχόντ' ἀφίεναι.

§ 35. ἔτι μέλλει, *is still future, is yet to come*.

συνίσταται. THOS. MAGISTER: ἀρχὴν λαμβάνει. *So lange also die Sache noch im Entstehen ist*. JACOBS. Like the nautical expression, *while the storm is brewing*. Or. *de Cor.* § 62, συνισταμένου καὶ γνομένου κακοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

κύριος (sc. Philip). Cf. *supra*, § 7.

ἐπὶ, *towards, to*.

ἔξω, *abroad, i. e. concerning the protection of your provinces*. περὶ—ἐπὲρ. Cf. *Phil.* I. § 1. WOLF: *coque rem redegit, ut vobis non jam de tuendis juribus atque externis rebus consultandum sit, sed de patrii soli agris et bello Atticæ imminente, etc.*

γέγονε . . . ἡμέρα. *Phil.* III. § 19, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀρεῖλε Φωκέας, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔγωγ' αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν ὀρίζομαι. JACOBS, however, understands this to mean the day on which peace was concluded; but Demosthenes alludes to the first act of hostility. This was his seizure of the strait of Thermopylae, as he says, Or. *de Fal. Leg.* § 34, Φιλίππου παρόρτος ἐν Πύλαις ἤδη (ἵν' γὰρ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀπώτων τῶν ἀδικοιμένων τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐπιστῆσαι τοῖς πράγμασι τούτοις).

§ 36. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρεχρούσθητε, *For if you had not been duped then, viz. by Aeschines and Philocrates, who by false*

representations concerning Philip's intentions, prevented the Athenians from sending an army to arrest his progress. Cf. DEM. *Or. de Cor.* § 35; *de Fal. Leg.* § 29 seqq.; also *supra*, § 29.

Οὔτε γὰρ. For Philip had not so strong a navy as to enable him to bring a fleet against Attica. The Athenians were far superior to him on the sea, both in naval resources and skill.

Φωκέας instead of τὴν Φωκίδα.

ἀλλ' ἤ. This thought is repeated in *Or. de Cherson.* § 47.

ἢ παραχρῆμα, *z. t. l.*, or he would immediately have been involved in a war like that which made him then desire peace. δι' οὗ. Comp. note to § 6.

§ 37. ὥς μὲν ὑπομνήσαι, for the purpose of admonition. Cf. MATTH. *Gr.* § 545, and VIGER. p. 558.

ὥς δ' ἂν ἐξετασθεῖν, *z. t. l.* WOLF: *absit autem, idque dii omnes prohibeant, ne experiendo certissime comprobentur.* A similar form of deprecation is found in *Or. de Cor.* § 324.

δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολωλέναι, *is worthy to perish.* The expression may be illustrated by a passage in DEM. *Or. contr. Aristoc.* § 55, οὐ δίκαιον ὑπέχεν, ἀλλὰ συγγρόμῃς τυχεῖν δίκαιός εἰμι. DEM. *in Mid.* § 12, οὐδ' ἐν ἔστω ἐγ' ὃ τῶν πεπραγμένων οὐ δίκαιος ὢν ᾧ πολωλέναι φανήσεται.

## PHILIPPIC III.

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IN the third year of the 109th Olympiad, B. C. 342, about two years after the preceding oration was spoken, Demosthenes delivered two harangues, which are justly considered the most perfect specimens of deliberative eloquence that have come down to us from antiquity. The first of these in the order of time is that known under the title *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερσωνήσῳ πραγμάτων*, ἢ ἐπὶ Διοπίθου, *On Chersonesus*; and the other, *Κατὰ Φιλίππον Γ*, the *Third Philippic*. As the latter was pronounced within a very short interval after the former, and treats, with few exceptions, of the same topics, it will be necessary to advert briefly to the circumstances which gave occasion to the oration *On Chersonesus*.

The peninsula which forms the southern extremity of Thrace, and which was called Chersonesus by the Greeks, had by the treaty of peace remained in the possession of Athens, with the exception of Cardia, its principal city, which was ceded to Philip. The country was chiefly settled by Athenian colonists, and the measures taken by Athens to insure its possession had given the first occasion for renewed collisions with the king. Soon after the peace was concluded, the Athenians had sent a new colony to Chersonesus for the purpose of increasing the internal strength of the province, which lay in the vicinity of Macedonia; an additional motive, probably, was to maintain in that region, under a plausible pretext, an armed force, which should be

in readiness against any difficulty that might arise. For whenever a colony was sent out from Athens, it usually consisted of poor citizens who were unable to support themselves at home, and willingly seized the opportunity of improving their condition in a foreign land. The state furnished them with arms and money to defray the expenses of the journey, and also appointed a leader, who was vested with military authority. The command of the above-mentioned colony to Chersonesus was given to Diopeithes, a bold and enterprising man, yet somewhat unscrupulous in his use of means to attain his objects, and reckless of consequences. The inhabitants of Chersonesus generally received the new settlers kindly, and assigned them houses and lands; not so, however, the citizens of Cardia, who bluntly refused them admission to their territories, averring that Athens had by the treaty renounced all claims and rights over them. Hereupon Diopeithes attempted to force them to submission, but, upon Philip's despatching troops to their assistance, he retaliated by laying waste the Macedonian towns lying on the coast. Philip hastened thither with a superior force, but Diopeithes, avoiding an engagement, prudently withdrew his men into Chersonesus. The king then wrote a letter to the people of Athens, full of bitter complaints, asserting that Diopeithes had broken the peace, and insisting upon his recall and punishment. The demand was warmly seconded by the king's partisans in Athens, but Demosthenes regarded the alleged offences of Diopeithes in quite a different light. He contended (*Orat. de Cherson.*) that Philip had been the first to infringe the stipulations of the treaty by the unwarranted seizure of their possessions, as well as those of other Grecian states; that Diopeithes had only retaliated these injuries, and that to listen to Philip's complaints, and disband or recall those who alone were in a condition to defend Chersonesus, would leave that province entirely without protection, which was precisely what Philip most ardently wished. He showed



them that the king had demeaned himself as hostile to Athens ever since the conclusion of the peace, and therefore, so far from yielding to his demand for the punishment of Diopeithes, it was their duty to sustain him, and to increase his force, as their sole bulwark against Philip's assaults in that quarter. The arguments presented by the orator in behalf of his brave countrymen in Chersonesus, animated by his vivid eloquence and lofty enthusiasm, prevailed with the Assembly, at least so far as to allow Diopeithes to retain his command, and to strengthen his force by volunteers as necessity might require. Soon after this, it appears that a letter or embassy (WINIEWSKI, p. 176) arrived from the people of Chersonesus, praying the Athenians to aid them with money and other subsidies. Whether this was done for the purpose of meeting some new danger is not known. But it is evident that the public mind had lately been much agitated on account of Philip's operations in Thrace, where he had been for a year extending his conquests, and thus paving his way for an attack on Perinthus and Byzantium. In one of the assemblies held for the purpose of deliberating on these matters, Demosthenes delivered *the Third Philippic*, the object of which was to procure for the people of Chersonesus the assistance they required, and to convince his fellow-citizens that the country was actually in danger from Philip's insidious encroachments, in order that he might, by kindling their resentment against the king, induce them to adopt some decided measures to thwart his plans, so evidently calculated for their subjugation.

The commencement of this discourse is the expression of the speaker's dissatisfaction, and almost despondency, at the wretched condition into which the public affairs have come: if every body had purposely endeavored to bring about the worst possible state of things, they could not have made it worse. This, he asserts, is owing to the fact that the time-serving orators study how they may advance

their own reputation or gratify their private grudges, instead of providing for the public welfare. Another prime cause is the habitual unwillingness of the people to hear disagreeable truths, and their insatiable appetite for smooth and flattering speeches. If this disposition could be changed, and they could be induced to act as their circumstances demanded, their condition was not past mending, there was still room for hope.

But, notwithstanding Philip's numerous acts of violence and injustice, which were known to every one, there were still many who maintained that he had done nothing in violation of the peace, and who accused the patriot orators of being the real disturbers of their friendly relations with him by denouncing his deeds. Demosthenes confutes these assertions by overwhelming proofs. Philip, it is true, had not openly declared war, yet, whilst he had shielded himself behind the name of peace, his deportment had constantly been that of an enemy. It had never been his policy to declare war, nor would he do it, though he already stood upon Attic soil. Witness the manner in which he treated the Olynthians, the Phocians, the inhabitants of Pheræ and Oreus, all of whom he approached under the guise of friendship, artfully keeping up the delusion till he could strike the fatal blow. He is pursuing the same policy towards the Athenians, and he will make no declaration of war, especially as long as he finds them willing to be duped. Nay, it would be the greatest folly in him, were he thus to turn against himself the spite and jealousy which they are venting upon one another. What man in his right mind will accept Philip's professions of peace, when his acts so plainly belie his words? The fact is, that he had scarcely sworn the peace before he seized upon Serrion and Doriscus and Hieronorus, and drove off the Athenian garrisons stationed there. It may be urged, that these posts were of little importance; that is another matter. But whether a man violates justice in small things or in great, the effect is

the same. But besides his hostile invasion of Thrace; his attempts upon Megara, his establishment of tyranny in Eubœa, his efforts to get the control of the Hellespont and Peloponnesus, as conclusively prove that he is warring against Athens as if his engines were placed before her gates. It is then full time to prepare for defence; not merely Chersonesus and Byzantium, but indeed all Greece is in danger, and means should be devised for the common security. Next follows a powerful appeal to the national sense of honor. The orator expresses his astonishment that all the Greeks tamely submit to that tyrannical conduct in Philip which they never would tolerate in one of their own states, and which had been the source of all their wars. For neither Athens, during its *hegemony* of seventy years, nor Sparta in thirty, nor Thebes, was ever allowed to commit one fifth of the injustice that the Greeks have suffered at Philip's hands in less than thirteen years. To say nothing of his complete demolition of Olynthus, Methone, Apollonia, and thirty-two cities on the frontiers of Thrace, and Phocis blotted out from the list of nations, he has reduced the Thessalians to slavery and established tyrants in Eubœa, close by Thebes and Athens. And now he has the effrontery to say to them in his letters, that *he is at peace with those who are willing to obey him*. None are exempt from his attacks, yet not Hellas nor the land of the barbarians is sufficient to satisfy his lust of empire. This all the Greeks are fully aware of, and still no effort is made to unite for their common defence. Each sees the storm gathering, but mutual jealousy and distrust prevent any combination to avert it. It is infamous and deeply humiliating, that, whilst Philip is loading Greece with injuries and insults, not one has the spirit to resist. What a contrast between the present generation and the Greeks of former times! who, animated by the love of freedom, spurned the gold and routed the armies of Persia by sea and by land, and who detested and visited with the heaviest

punishments whoever was detected in accepting a bribe from their enemies. Now, on the contrary, all is venal; unblushing corruption stalks abroad with impunity, and, notwithstanding that Greece possesses far greater resources for war than she had in those early days, they are all rendered useless and unavailing through the cabals of those shameless traffickers. After citing a remarkable instance of the severity of the old Athenian patriots towards this crime, the orator returns to the subject of a war with Philip. He discusses his character as a general, and the innovations he had introduced into the old modes of warfare, which it is necessary they should understand and make their preparations accordingly. At the same time, he puts his hearers on their guard against the advocates of Philip, declaring it impossible for them to vanquish their foreign enemies till they have punished the traitors within their own walls. This, unhappily, they are so far from doing, that they take pleasure in listening to their calumnies and vituperations, and show them even more favor than they do those who defend the interests of the city. Such conduct they persist in, though aware of all the calamities which other cities had brought upon themselves by lending ear to the partisans of Philip. This was precisely the course followed by the people of Olynthus and Porthmus and Oreus, who all repented of their folly when it was too late. Such, too, it is to be feared, will be the doom of Athens; the same trifling with her true interests, the same blind sense of security, is hurrying her forward to a similar downfall. But it is shameful, when the evil has arrived, to exclaim, *Who would have thought this was going to happen?* *This and that ought to have been done, and the other omitted.* No; whilst the state is still in a sound condition, it must guard itself against such a contingency; for though all the rest should bend their necks to the yoke of servitude, Athens must struggle for her freedom! This determination she must make known to the other states; must



send envoys everywhere to kindle like feelings, and induce them to join in a league against their common enemy. It would be of no avail, however, to send this invitation, unless they were resolved to act for themselves; Athens must take the lead and set the example. Her dignity demands that she should assume this post of honor which their ancestors had won and bequeathed to them amid many great dangers. They must not sit idle and cowardly at home, in the vain hope that others will save Greece; they must act. The counsel of the orator is to send the required assistance to the people of Chersonesus, to arm themselves for the contest, and to rally the other Greeks around the standard of independence. This is the only course from which he can hope for a remedy for their evils.

The exertions of Demosthenes to rouse his countrymen to resistance were not without effect. Two years after when Philip laid siege to Perinthus and Byzantium, they sent thither a strong reinforcement, by means of which he was repulsed and compelled to retire. Philip hereupon declared the peace ended, whereat the Athenians pulled down the pillar upon which the treaty had been engraved. At length, when Philip stood on the borders of Bœotia with a large army, the necessity of following the advice of Demosthenes became evident. By the orator's strenuous efforts, an alliance of the principal states was formed, and a force was raised to oppose the monarch. But this army, which consisted mostly of fresh levies, commanded by officers whose names could inspire but little confidence, was found unable to cope with the veteran troops of Macedonia, led by their king, the young prince Alexander, and some of the ablest generals of the age. A battle was fought, in which the victory remained with Philip; and the doom against which our orator had so frequently warned his countrymen, and which he had devoted the best energies of his life to avert, was accomplished on the fatal plain of Charonea. In the words of Lycurgus, *The liberty of Greece was buried with the bodies of the slain.*

§ 1. DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus (De admirab. vi dicendi in Dem. § 9), remarks upon the opening period of this oration, that it is elaborated with unusual care and skill. Also DISSEN (*De structura periodorum oratoria* p. 62): Est clara et nervosa periodus; nam dividit totum orator scite in plures majores partes (in Massen), intervallis et respirationibus certis distinctas. The period extends to διατεταγται and consists of two principal members, (the first ending at δώσει) which are again subdivided into two subordinate members, each having a different grammatical construction. The first principal member is conditional and hypothetical, and the gen. abs. may properly be rendered by the subject and verb, prefixing the particle *while* or *although*. See ROST's *Gr. Gr.* p. 417. *Although many speeches are made, &c.*

ὀλίγον δεῖν. An adverbial expression = σχεδόν, DION. HAL., ad. l. l. *almost*, Lat. *Pacne*.

ἀφ' οὗ, *since, ex quo pacem fecit.* WOLF.

ἐν οἷδ' ὅτι, used parenthetically, *I am certain.* BEKKER and the recent editors reject ἐν, but SPENGEL (*Abh. Mün. Acad. der Wissenschaft.* 1839, p. 169) has shown that it was contained in the best MSS. in the time of DIONYS. HAL. and ARISTIDES, who both quote this passage, and always with ἐν.

ἐν ᾧ πάντων γ' ἄν. *Comp. Phil.* II. § 20. ἄν with the part. is rendered as if it were joined with the verb itself. MATTH. *Gr.* § 598. Render: *and though all* (I am sure), *would say at least, even if they do not do so*; in which it is also to be observed that the Greeks used ποιεῖν precisely as we employ the word *do* instead of repeating the verb. After πάντων most of the MSS. have ἅπανι προσίχει, (Bekker in first ed. [ἅ πᾶσι προσίχει],) which Voemel retains. To receive both δεῖν and προσίχει is, however, as Spengel very justly observes, contrary to the custom of the orator. I have deemed proper, therefore, to follow the Cod. Σ, in which the words ἅπανι προσίχει are omitted.

ἐπιπλέρα. Cf. *Phil.* II. § 1; RUEDIGER *ad Or. de Cherson.* § 62 thus defines: ἐπαύεσθαι, *lenociniis et insidiis aliquem inducere, protrahere.* Suidas and Hesych. explain it by ἐξαπατᾶν. In this passage it expresses the bad influence of corrupt politicians upon the affairs of government.

προσημέρα, *fallen into neglect, confused through inattention.*

WOLF: *per incuriam prolapsa.*

οἱ παριόρτες, *the orators.* Cf. *Phil.* II. § 3, note.

χειροτορεῖν, sc. ταῦτα.

§ 2. οὐ παρ' ἐν οὐδὲ δύο, *not from one or two causes.* The difference between παρὰ here and διὰ occurring directly below, consists in this: παρὰ denotes the condition on which any thing depends; διὰ the instrumentality by which the result is brought about. Hence AUGER correctly interprets, *si recte consideretis, ii sunt in culpa qui jucundissima dicere malunt quam utilissima.*

χαρίζεσθαι is equivalent to πρὸς ἰδούην δημιουργεῖν. Cf. *Phil.* I. § 51, πρὸς χάριν — λέγειν.

δέρωνται = δερᾶτοί εἰσι. The sense of the passage is, *some of these orators, while they study to preserve those things in which they have a reputation and in which their forte lies, take no thought for the future, etc.* That is, those politicians who are only anxious to preserve their own popularity, without regarding the true interests of the country.

ἔτεροι are *the opposition*, who make it their business to revile the party in power, and, actuated by malice rather than patriotism, and more intent upon the downfall of their adversaries than upon the defence of the city against foreign enemies. Concerning the expression εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς πολέμοισι, cf. BERNH. *Gr. Synt.* p. 249.

παρ' αὐτῆς, i. e. *her own citizens.*

περὶ τοῦτ' ἔσται. The Greeks used the expressions περὶ τι εἶναι, ἀμύγει τι ἔχειν, περὶ τι σπαραδάζειν, very nearly in the same sense: *to be about or engaged in a thing.* MATTH. *Gr.* § 583; BERNH. *Gr. Synt.* p. 262.

πολιτεῖα συρίθαις. The plural πολιτεῖα indicates, according to Bremi, that this system had been pursued for a long time; Ruediger refers it to the different political factions which the orator had mentioned above. But συρίθαις shows that the former view is correct: *this system of politics is habitual with you.*

§ 3. ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων, *in respect to other things, in other respects.* Cf. *Or. in Mid.* § 2. In its exceptive sense this refers to συμβουλεύειν. No restraint was imposed upon the liberty of speech, except in public deliberations. “In democratiis,” says Bremi, “stultitia est cujusquam os occludere velle. Quo magis operam das, eo major erit licentia loquendi et vituperandi.”

δούλοις — οἰκέταις. The former is a general term, including slaves of every sort; the latter specifies the domestics who were acquainted with the family relations, and from whom, therefore, greater discretion is ordinarily exacted. Franke understands by οἰκέταις *publicos servos*, that is, those who were the property of the state, and who performed menial services for the different state officers; but they were denominated οἰκέταις δημόσιοι, sometimes simply δημόσιοι. C. F. HERM. *Staatsalt.* § 114, note 9. I see, therefore, no ground for the distinction.

ἐξεληλάτατε, perf. of ἐξελαίρω. Render, *but from the public deliberations you have banished it altogether.* As soon as the orator mounted the tribune, he assumed as it were a public character; he became the counsellor of the people in their sovereign capacity, whom it lay in his power to mislead to the adoption of the most pernicious measures. For the safety of the state, therefore, it was necessary to impose the severest restrictions upon this power, which were specified as far as possible by the laws. The author of any decree, for example, or of any public measure whatever, was made individually responsible for it for the space of a year, during which time it was subjected to the strictest scrutiny by the *Thesmothetæ*, or conservators of the laws.



If it was found that he had compromised the public interests, he was liable to the heaviest penalties. SCHOEM. *de Comit. Ath.* p. 166 seqq. Beside this, he was immediately responsible to the people for everything he said in his public speeches, and hence few were found who were of sufficient courage to brave their anger by telling unpleasant truths.

§ 4. ἐν μὲν ταῖς . . . . ἀνδρεύειν. This passage is repeated in *Or. de Cherson.* § 34.

τοργαῖρ, *luxuriari, insolescere*, ita ut, quidquid delicatis auribus vestris non blandiatur, fastidiatis; qui fastus adulatione alitur. The passage conveys a lively image of the morbid sensitiveness of the Athenian people.

καὶ νῦν, *even now, still.*

Καὶ γὰρ εἰ, *For although.* Cf. HERM. *ad VIGER.* p. 832.

τὰ πράγματα, *the affairs of state.* τὰ γυρόμενα signifies *the events of the time.* So JACOBS: *in den Begebenheiten und Geschäften aber schon am Rande der Gefahr steht.*

§ 5. τὸ χεῖριστον, *z. t. l.* Cf. *Phil.* I. § 2.

ἐπεὶ τοι, εἰ. All the MSS. except the Cod. Σ, which Bekker follows, have here, as in *Phil.* I. § 2, ἐπεὶ τοί γε, εἰ, which Ruediger retains.

πραττόρων, *sc. ὑμῶν.*

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κενήρησθε. The conj. ἀλλ' expresses the wide difference between the two verbs, and is equivalent to our *nay.* κενήρησθε. Demosthenes employs κενῆσθαι in *Olynth.* II. 21, and in *Or. de Cor.* § 198, to signify the disorder produced in the body by an attack of disease; but here it alludes to the single contest. Correctly WOLF: *neque victi vos, immo ne loco quidem moti estis.*

§ 6. οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔδει. In hypothetical enunciations like the present, the particle ἄρ is not necessarily added. Cf. HERM. *ad VIGER.* p. 945. SCHAEF. *App. Crit.* ad h. l.

ἀνέχεσθαι τιμῶν. This verb is generally construed with the accusative, rarely with the genitive. XEN. *Hellen.* VI. 5, τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων οὐκ ἠνέχετο. Cf. MATTH. *Gr.* § 357.

By *τινῶν* are meant the partisans of Philip, who accused Demosthenes of endeavoring to inflame the Athenians to war.

*ἐνέλεσθαι καὶ διορθῶσθαι*. Ruediger refers these words to the orator himself: *Opus est, ut caveam et avertam*. But Demosthenes wishes rather to put his hearers on their guard, and to correct the erroneous opinions they may have formed in relation to the question.

§ 7. *γράφειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν τις, κ. τ. λ.*, *lest when any one has written and advocated a plan for, etc.* It may be proper here to cast a glance at the process by which such a proposition passed into a law or decree. It was required to be first laid before the Senate of Five Hundred (*Arg. Or. adv. Androt.* § 5), whose duty it was to prepare all business which was to be referred to the assembly of the people. If it was approved by that body, it was then reduced to writing, according to the sense of the majority. This bill, or *senatus consultum* (*προβούλευμα*), was referred by the Senate to the general Assembly, where, after it had been read, the question was put by the *Proedri*, whether the people concurred with the decree of the Senate, or demanded time to deliberate on the subject proposed. The president of the Assembly (*ἐπιστάτης ἐν τῷ δῷμῳ*) then declared the question open for discussion, and the herald demanded if any one wished to address the people. Any citizen had the right to share in the debate (F. A. WOLF *ad Lept.* p. 234; A. G. BEKKER, *DEM. als Staatsmann und Redner*, p. 500), or to offer an amendment to the bill, or even to write a new one (SCHOEM. *de Comit. Ath.* p. 98). When the subject had been sufficiently discussed, the orators who had taken different sides drew up their opinions in the form of a decree, and the question was taken upon each of these separately (*Ibid.* p. 117; cf. *Phil.* I. § 30). That which obtained a majority of votes became thereby a decree (*νόμος*), for which the author, whose name was usually attached to it, was responsible (WOLF *ad Lept.* p. 137 seq.;

SCHOEM. *de Comit. Ath.* p. 273). It was necessary, therefore, for Demosthenes and the other patriot orators to feel assured that a majority of the citizens agreed with them in their convictions in regard to Philip before they could venture to propose open resistance to his encroachments.

λέγω καὶ διαφύζομαι, κ. τ. λ., with a *future* signification : *I will first of all discuss and determine if it is still in our power to deliberate, etc.*

§ 8. ἔξεστιν — ἐστὶ. These verbs are not used synonymously ; the former denotes a possibility afforded by *outward circumstances* ; the expression εἶναι ἐπὶ τινι indicates more a *subjective choice*, for *to be under one's control* signifies that the will is there free to act. So DEM. *Or. de Cherson.* § 7, οὐ γὰρ αἴρεσίς ἐστιν ἡμῶν τοῦ πράγματος.

φημὶ ἔγωγε, κ. τ. λ., *I say myself that we ought, etc.*

τὸν ταῦτα λέγοιτα. Said in reference to the partisan of Philip, who urged the necessity to keep the peace, but took no pains to promote it. Demosthenes demands that the traitor shall act consistently with his words.

προβάλλει is the reading adopted by BEKKER from *Cod. Σ*, instead of the vulg. προβάλλεται. The middle form signifies *to extend for the purpose of defence*. Cf. *Phil.* I. § 40, and ΠΑΡΟΧΡΑΤ. s. v. προβάλλειν τὸ ὄνομα means *to profess in order to dupe*. *Er hält euch den Namen des Friedens vor*. JACOBS. Philip had done this in his letters to the Athenians. See, for example, that inserted in *Or. de Cor.* § 78.

πέποιθεν, *jactare, dictitare*. RUED. The sense is, *I do not object to your professing to keep the peace as Philip does, if you will*. Or, *Philip, under the mantle of peace, is in fact engaged in hostilities ; you may do the same*.

οὐ διαφέρω is equivalent to the common expression οὐδὲρ μοι διαφέρει. *It is the same thing to me*. Cf. SCHAEF. *App. Crit.* ad h. l.

§ 9. ταῦτα εἰρήνη. The ellipsis of εἶναι in such constructions is very common. Cf. BERNHARDY, *Gr. Synt.* p. 330.

ἐξ ἧς, according to which.

ἔπειτα . . . λέγει, in the second place he means peace on your part towards Philip, not on his towards you. The vulg. has ἄγειν after εἰρήνην, which is evidently a corruption.

Τοῦτο refers to the sentence αὐτὸς . . . πολεμεῖσθαι: That is, he pays his agents to prevent you from commencing a war upon him.

τῶν ἀναλίσκομένων χρημάτων is the gen. of purchase. MATTH. Gr. § 363.

§ 10. Καὶ μὴν, And, indeed, et sane. HERM. Cf. Olynth. II. § 9.

μέχρι τούτου, until then, for that.

Οὐδὲ is to be construed with τοῦτ' ἐπεὶ. Render. For he will not avow this, even if he were marching against Attica itself.

τετραλίσκεσθαι with the dat., to judge by something as evidence, to conclude from. BERNHARDY, Gr. Synt. p. 103; MATTH. § 395.

§ 11. τοῦτο μὲν — τοῦτο δ'. These frequently, as here, correspond to each other in longer enunciations, as τὸ μὲν — τὸ δέ do in shorter ones. Cf. HERM. ad VIGER. p. 702; ISOCRAT. Panegy. § 21; MATTH. Gr. § 288, Obs. 2. They express here no opposition, but are used simply to particularize examples; as the English now — again; in one instance — in another; and the like.

ἑοὶν θάτερον, one of the two, for τὸ ἕτερον. SCHAEFER deems it unnecessary to supply any verb, this being one of those formulas of familiar discourse that convey a complete idea by themselves, though standing in loose syntactical connection with the rest. Germ. eins von beiden, entweder — oder.

πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, always before; ἄλλον in the sense of πρότερον; that is, before he marched against Olynthus.

The verb αἰτιάσθαι governs two acc. MATTH. Gr. § 421,



Obs. 1. Cf. *Or. de Halon.* § 1; also, *Or. de Cherson.* § 2, ὅσα μὲν τις αἰτιάται τινα τούτων.

εἰς Φωκέας ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους. The former of these prepositions, εἰς, is to be referred to the country of the Phocians; the latter, πρὸς, to the people. Demosthenes often uses these prepositions without any apparent distinction. Cf. *Olynth.* III. § 1, ὅταν τε εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέψω καὶ ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους οὕς ἀκούω.

ἤριζον οἱ πολλοὶ, the populace contended, maintained. οἱ πολλοὶ *vulgus, cui proditorum turba* (cf. *Phil.* II. § 29) *verba dederat*. FRANKE. VOEMEL with BEKKER has πολλοὶ instead of οἱ πολλοὶ.

λυσιτελήσειν. This composite form is used in prose. In poetry it would be λύνει τέλη, *to benefit*, with the dat. οὐ λυσιτελεῖ is like our familiar expression, *It does not pay*. The people contended that this expedition would bring no good to the Thebans. Cf. *Or. de Cor.* § 35.

τὴν ἐκείνου πάροδον, *his ingress* through the strait of Thermopylae.

§ 12. ἔχει καταλαβών. In expressions of this nature, which are very common with Demosthenes, regard is to be had to the tense of the participle, as well as to the verb ἔχειν. They denote a continuation of the condition caused by the action. Cf. HERM. *ad VIGER.* p. 753; MATTH. *Gr.* § 559. b; THUC. I. 30, Κορινθίους δὲ δῖσαντες εἶχον. Cf. *Phil.* I. § 6.

Ὀρεΐταις. Demosthenes relates the story of this treachery below. § 59. The order of construction is, Καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα ἔφη πεπομπέναι τοὺς στρατιώτας τοῖς ταλαιπώροις Ὀρεῖταις, κ. τ. λ. WOLF: *Ac postremo miseris illis Oritis dixit se misisse ad eos e benevolentia milites, qui eos viserent, audire enim se laborare illos et seditionibus agitari.* As ἐπισκέπτεσθαι is sometimes used to signify watching the sick, it was a heartless and bitter jest upon the helpless citizens of Oreus.

Περθάρεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς ροσῶσι, instead of Περθάρεσθαι,

ὥς ροσοῦσι. or ροσεῖν αὐτοῖς. WOLF. ρόσος and ροσεῖν were often used figuratively to denote intestine divisions. Cf. DION. SIC. XI. 86 : ἐρόσουσιν αἱ πόλεις καὶ πάλιν εἰς πολιτικὰς στάσεις καὶ ταραχὰς ἐρέπιπτον. Also Or. de Cor. § 45.

§ 13. Εἴτ' οἷεσθ' αὐτόν. The pron. αὐτόν is the acc. before αἰθεῖσθαι.

οἱ relates to τούτους. Turreil renders the passage thus : *Croyez-vous qu'un homme, qui aime mieux user de surprise que de force ouverte contre des peuples, qui etaient trop foibles pour entreprendre jamais rien contre lui, et que toute leur prévoyance auroit à piene garantis de l'oppression, croyez-vous dis-je que cette homme s'avise de vous declarer la guerre, surtout lorsqu'il vous trouve ingenieux et opiniâtre à vous tromper en sa faveur ?*

ἕως, as long as.

§ 14. ἀβελτερώτατος. HESYCHIUS explains : ὁ τὸ βέλτιστον μὴ γινώσκων. SUIDAS, ἀβέλτερος · χαῦνος, ρέος, stupid. Cf. Or. de Fal. Leg. § 98, where the orator classes it under the head of ignorance.

εἰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων, &c. τ. λ. The sense is, *if, whilst you the injured party make no complaint against him, but accuse some of your own citizens, he should put an end to your internal dissensions and command you to turn your pugnacity against him.*

προεῖπειν, which is properly said of a herald, conveys the general notion of *commanding*. The sense is, *It is Philip's interest to keep alive these domestic quarrels, and he will take good care not to proclaim himself your enemy, and thus unite you against himself.*

τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ μισθοφορούντων, i. e. Philip's agents at Athens. λόγους, the specious arguments and excuses which they used in defending his conduct.

§ 15. ὦ πρός τοῦ Διός. FUNKHAENEL (*Diss. ad Phil.* III. p. 5) prefers to accent thus, ὦ, since it denotes merely an expression of astonishment, not an appeal.

ἄρτι τῆς εἰρήνης γερονίας, immediately after the peace was

made. Demosthenes expresses himself more exactly in *Or. de Cherson.* § 63, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι. For it was while the negotiations for peace were pending that Philip made a rapid incursion into Thrace, and took the places mentioned below.

τῶν ὄντων ἐν Χερσόνησσι. So BEKKER, from *Codd. Σ.* and *Dresd.*, instead of the vulg. τῶν ἐν Χερσόνησσι ῥῆν ὄντων ἀπεσταλμένων. WOLF interprets, *neque missis iis qui nunc in Chersoneso sunt*. But according to the new collocation of the words, it becomes necessary to join the particle ῥῆν with ἀπεσταλμένων, which is perfectly compatible with the rules of syntax. See VIGER. p. 425. ῥῆν when joined with the preterite signifies ἀπὸ τότε, modo, paulo ante. The sense of the passage will thus be, *nor were those troops yet in Chersonesus which have been lately sent*. This agrees also sufficiently with the history of events; for, though it is not known exactly at what time Diopceithes and the colonists under his command arrived in Chersonesus, it is certain that it must have been some time after the conclusion of peace and the capture of the Athenian possessions by Philip. Cf. *Or. de Cherson.* § 6, πρὶν Διοπίθην ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς κληρούχους, — πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀδίκως εἰληγώς. The circumstances referred to were briefly these. Chersonesus having been conceded to the Athenians by the treaty with Philip, a body of citizens under the command of Diopceithes were sent to take possession of it. This was effected without opposition from the inhabitants, with the exception of the city of Cardia, who refused, saying that the lands they occupied belonged to themselves and not to the Athenians. Thereupon Diopceithes attempted to take the city by force; but the Cardians implored Philip for assistance, who sent a letter to remonstrate with the Athenians, which not being listened to, he despatched a body of troops to aid the Cardians. Diopceithes, incensed at being thus thwarted in his purpose, invaded and laid waste maritime Thrace, which was tributary to Macedonia. In consequence, a letter was

sent from Philip to the Athenians, accusing Diopceithes of breaking the peace, and threatening, if they did not restrain him, to invade Chersonesus. The dispute which arose at Athens on that subject gave occasion to one of Demosthenes's most spirited orations. Cf. LIBAN. *Arg. Or. de Cherson.*; WINIEWSKI, *Com. Hist. Or. de Cor.* p. 175. The allusion to these events is introduced merely to show that they could not have given occasion for Philip's attack on Serrhium and Doriscus.

Σέρριον καὶ Δορίσκιον, Athenian fortresses in Thrace. I transcribe the following notice of them from RUEDIGER, *Com. Hist. Or. de Cherson.* p. 171: *Doriscus, auctore Herodoto, VII. 59, ingens fuit campus et littus Thraciæ non multum ab ostio Hebri; ibi rex Xerxes magnum murum dicitur exstruxisse eumque Doriscum appellasse. Eo ipso loco Persa exercitum adversos Græcos (HERODOT. VII. 60) recensuit et in Græciam profectus est (Ibid VII. 108; PLIN. IV. 11). Hic ipse scriptor testatur, non multum a Dorisco distare Serrhium, quod montis promontorii et castelli nomen fuisse videtur (vid. STEPH. BYZ. s. v., et HARPOCRAT. qui ὄρουα τοῦ χωρίου fuisse monet). Addit orator Ἰερὸν τεῖχος, Ἰερὸν ὄρος, quæ castella prope ad Serrhium et Doriscum fuisse videntur. Cf. *Or. de Halon.* § 37; *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 156; *Or. de Cor.* § 70.*

ὁ ἐμπέτερος στρατηγός, viz. Chares, who was previously posted in Chersonesus. BRUECKNER, *König Philip*, p. 256; WINIEWSKI, p. 126.

ταῦτα ποιῶν τί ἐποίει; *At ista agendo quid faciebat?* AUGER. That is, *What construction is to be put on such conduct?*

εἰρήνην . . . ὁμωμύζει. This is not to be taken quite literally. For in other orations Demosthenes inveighs against Philip, because, at the very time that arrangements were making for peace, he made a forced march into Thrace, and took these important military posts of the Athenians. The state of the negotiations was this. The Athenians had al-



ready sent one embassy to Philip to settle the terms of the treaty, and the king in his turn had sent deputies to receive the oaths of the Athenians. All that was wanting to a complete ratification was the oath of Philip, which another embassy, in which were Æschines and Demosthenes, was despatched to receive. In *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 155 et seq. and *Or. de Cor.* § 30, Demosthenes reproaches Æschines and his associates in the embassy with purposely dallying on the journey and staying nearly three months at Pella, until Philip had seized the places he wished. WEISKE (*de Hyperbole Dem.*) very justly remarks that the peace is called ratified or not ratified (*tum juratum, tum injuratum*) according as the orator aims more at Philip or at the traitors who played into his hands. Consult WINIEWSKI, *Com. Hist. et Chron. in Or. de Cor.* p. 126 seq.

§ 16. τί δέ, κ. τ. λ. The question of an imaginary opponent, insinuating that he was making a great ado about a trifle. The particle δέ is strongly adversative. *But what are those places, or what does the city care for them?* The loss of such small and insignificant fortresses might appear to be of little consequence to Athens, but the orator contends that it is the principle which is to be considered. For the construction of μέλει with gen. and dat., see SOPH. *Gr. Gr.* § 201. n. 4. It takes the neut. pron. as subject. KUEHNER, *Gr.* § 274. obs. 1.

The following particles, Εἰ — γάρ, imply that the assumption is very doubtful. Concerning this construction, consult BERNHARDY, *Gr. Syntax*, p. 405.

ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος οὗτος, *that were another question.* PLAT. *Apol. Soc.* c. 23, Εἰ μὲν θαυρότατός ἐγὼ ἔχω πρὸς θάνατον ἢ μὴ, ἄλλος λόγος. PLAT. *de Leg.* I. 7, ὁ λόγος ἂν ἕτερος εἴη. Cf. DISSEN. *ad Or. de Cor.* § 44.

Τὸ δ' εὐσεβές. WOLF: *Sed jurisjurandi religio et justitia sive in parvis sive magnis in rebus violetur, eandem utrumque vim habet.* A. G. BECKER: “*Aber wer das Heilige und Rechte, sey es im Kleinen, sey es im Grossen, ver-*

*letzet: der fehlet immer auf gleiche Weise.* Wir fühlen, nicht edler konnte Demosthenes das Unrecht schildern, das Philippos in eben dem Augenblick begangen, wo er durch die Heiligkeit des Eidschwurs sich zum Frieden verpflichtet hatte, als durch jenen allgemeinen Gedanken. Tief musste es sich dem Gemüth der Zuhörer einprägen: wer unter solchen Umständen einen Kleinen Gewaltstreich sich nachsicht, wird nur zu gewiss in der Folge grössere wagen." DEM. *als Staatsmann und Redner*, p. 178. ἄρ τε — ἄρ τε are repeated in the same way as εἴτε — εἴτε PLAT. *de Repub.* V., ἄρ τε τις εἰς πολυμυζήθην μισθὸν ἐμπέσῃ, ἄρ τε εἰς τὸ μέγιστον πέλαιος μέσον, ὅμως γὰρ νεὶ οὐδὲν ἤττον.

§ 17. βασιλεὺς. Xenophon and other historians use this title to designate the king of Persia κατ' ἐξοχήν. Cf. *infra*, § 43. Before the invasion of the Persians under Darius, Chersonesus had been ruled by Miltiades, who, not able to maintain his ground against that monarch and his immense army, abandoned the country and returned to Athens. After the victory at Marathon, however, and the consequent retreat of the Persians into Asia, it was again secured to the Athenians through Miltiades's instrumentality, and their right of possession was not afterwards disputed by the Persian kings. In the difficulties, however, in which Athens became involved by the Peloponnesian war, she was unable to defend Chersonesus against the incursions of the Thracians, who held it for a considerable period, till at length, after many unsuccessful attempts to recover it, it was ceded to the Athenians, with the exception of the city of Cardia, by Cersobleptes, in Olymp. 105. 3. LUCCHESINI, *Hist. Annot.* p. 390; WINIEWSKI, *Com. Hist. et Chron. in Or. de Cor.* p. 197. Consult DIOD. SIC. XVI. 34.

καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα, and writes this in his letters to you. This refers to the letter which Philip wrote from Thrace, in which he threatened to retaliate the encroachments of Diopceithes. Cf. *Or. de Cherson.* § 16, and LIBAN. *Arg.*

πολεμεῖν. Many *Codices* have ὑμῖν after this verb, and it is therefore retained by REISKE and RUEDIGER. It is wanting in the *Ald. ed.* and *Cod. Σ.* BEKKER rejects it, and it certainly may be dispensed with.

τοσοῦτῳ δέω. So *Cod. Σ.*, which VOEMEL follows. Vulg. τοσοῦτον. The verb δέω admits of being construed with the gen., dat., or accus. In *DEM. Or. cont. Lept.* § 33, some MSS. have τοσοῦτον δεῖ instead of the received reading τοσοῦτον δεῖ. The dat. in the text is defended by FUNKHAE-NEL, *Obs. Crit. ad Phil.* III. p. 5, who thus explains: *Jam vero si quærimus, quæ dativi est ratio, comparationis vis et notio in verbis τοσοῦτῳ δέω ποιεῖν τοῦτο ὥστε inest. Nam qui ita loquitur, illud prius non facit eoque minus facere vult, quod alterum mavult. Duæ res igitur inter se comparantur quarum prius eo minus fit quod altera posterior, præfertur. ὁμολογεῖν depends on δέω.*

Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον. Philip attempted to get possession of Megara in Olymp. 109. 1 WINIEWSKI, p. 145; *Or. de Cor.* § 71, Μεγάροις ἐπιχειρῶν, where Dissen observes: *Vide-tur hoc esse factum Ol. 109. 1, cum Philippus, ut urbem tene-ret Athenis vicinam et Peloponnesum ingressuro opportunam, occupare Megara et præsidium imponere conaretur. Cf. DEM. Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 87, whence it appears that the rumors of his near approach caused great consternation at Athens.

ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τυραννίδα. Compare *Or. de Cherson.* § 36, δύο ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κατέστησε τυράννους. Philip confirmed Clitarchus as tyrant of Eretria, Ol. 109. 2, and Philistides at Oreus, Ol. 109. 3. These words are not, however, to be understood as relating to the first institution of that form of government in Eubœa. It had previously existed there, but the inhabitants having rebelled, Philip aided in quelling the insurrections, and established the tyrants in their dominion. Cf. WINIEWSKI, p. 170 seqq.

νῦν ἐπὶ Θράκῃ. Philip was still absent on the expedition into Thrace, where he had already been more than ten



months at the time this oration was delivered, which was in the winter of Ol. 109. 3. The campaign ended with the expulsion of the kings of Thrace, and the subjugation of their territories. Cf. *Or. de Cherson.* § 35; WINIEWSKI, p. 187.

σχευωροῦμενον, *plotting, intriguing*. Hesychius explains *σχευωρεῖσθαι* · ἐπιβουλεύειν. *Hæc vox dicitur de vis, qui caldida consilia moliantur et agitant.* RUED. Philip's meddling in the affairs of the Messenians and the Lacedæmonians is the matter here referred to.

τὰ μηχανήματα ἐφιστάμενος. Cf. *infra*, §§ 18, 50.

§ 18. Τίσιν οὖν ὑμεῖς κινδυνεύσαίτ' ἄν, κ. τ. λ. The sense is, *To what dangers would you be exposed in the event of a rupture?* The construction of *κινδυνεύειν* with the dative is somewhat rare. It is more frequently found joined with *περί* and the genitive. The datives contained in the answer to the question are put in the same regimen. *In eo, quod Hellespontus alienabitur, quod is, qui contra vos bellum gerit, Megaris et Eubæa potietur, quod Peloponnesii cum eo conspirabunt.* WOLF.

*Εἴτα* denotes the absurdity of the idea.

τοῦτο τὸ μηχανήμα, fig. i. e., the preceding machinations of Philip.

ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας. He became master of Phocis on the 23d of the month *Scirrhophorion* (about the 20th of May), Ol. 108. 2. Cf. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 59; BRUECKNER, *König Phil.* p. 182.

πολεμεῖν. The same variation in the reading is found here as that noticed *supra*, § 17.

§ 19. ἤδη, *at once, immediately.*

ἐάσητε, vulg. ἀναβάλλησθε, which is retained by BEKKER, but there is reason to believe it originated from a marginal explanation.

δυνήσεσθε. So the best *Codices*. REISKE and AUGER prefer to read *δυνήσεσθαι*, inf. depending on *γῆμί*. But this species of *anacoluthon* is too common with our orator to excite any surprise.



τοσοῦτόν γε ἀφέστηκα, *I am so far from agreeing with, I so dissent from.*

σχοπεῖν, said emphatically. *It is no longer time for deliberation; we should rather send prompt assistance to those places, — for ἐπαμῦναι with the dat. conveys this idea.* BERNHARDY, *Gr. Syntax*, p. 90. TOURREIL: *il faut les secourir incessamment.* JACOBS: *zu Hülfe eilen.* MATTH. *Gr.* § 390.

Βυζαντίον. The Athenians entertained fears at this time that Philip on his return from Thrace would direct his march against Byzantium. Cf. *Or. de Cherson.* § 18.

§ 20. ἐξ ὧν, κ. τ. λ., *for what reasons I am so concerned for the safety of the commonwealth.* This extensive acceptance of πραγμάτων is required by what follows.

καὶ πρόνοιάν τι' . . . ποιήσῃθε. *Render, and make some provision for your own safety, at least, if you will not for that of the other Greeks.* ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν. obj. gen.

τετυγῶσθαι. This verb signifies, literally, *to be stunned or crazed*, as with a stroke of lightning. HARPOCRATION: τετύγωμαι· ἐμβεβρότημαι, ἐξὼ τῶν γροειῶν γέγονα. DEM. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 219, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μαίρομαι καὶ τετύγωμαι νῦν κατηγορῶν αὐτοῦ. Cf. *Or. de Cor.* § 11. Plato (*Lys.*) uses ληρέω with words of similar signification: οὐχ ὑγμῖναι, ἀλλὰ ληρεῖ τε καὶ μαίνεται.

§ 21. τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς, *in the commencement.* Concerning this and similar adverbial expressions, consult VIGER. p. 80.

πρὸς αὐτοὺς, equivalent to πρὸς ἀλλήλους, as in *Phil. I.* § 10, αἰτῶν for ἀλλήλων. DEM. *Or. de Cor.* § 61, πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔχοντας πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἐτι χειρὸν διέθηκε.

πολλῷ παραδοξότερον, κ. τ. λ. The sense is, *that it was far more improbable* (sc. when he was yet a weak prince) *that he would become so powerful, than that now, when he has secured so many places, he will subjugate the rest of Greece.*

γερέσθαι. This aorist may refer as well to the future as

to the past. For there are two moments of Philip's history considered in this sentence: the first is the time when he was but a petty prince, from which point *τοσοῦτον γενέσθαι* is future; the second is the time in which the orator is speaking, when it is past. This pliant nature of the aorist is discussed by BERNHARDY, *Gr. Syntax*, p. 381. But why it is again used, *ποιήσασθαι*, where we should expect a future or optative, is not so clear, unless, perhaps, we assume that the lively imagination of the orator represents that which is merely possible, or at most probable, as really accomplished. The Latins use the future to express both these relations: "*incredibilius erat Philippum ex tantillo fore tantum, quam nunc subacturum esse cetera.*"

§ 22. ἀφ' ἑμῶν ἀρχαμένους, *beginning with yourselves, you setting the example.* The antecedent of the following οὗ is τοῦτο understood, the obj. of *συνεχωρηζότας*, which is used instead of the inf. *συνεχωρηζέαι*. Further, the words ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους must be considered as applying only to the states of Greece. Cf. inf. § 47. It may be thus rendered, *But I observe that every body, with yourselves at the head, have conceded that to him, for which, etc.*

καθ' ἑνα. The vulg. καθ' ἑνα ἕναστος is found in *Codd.* F. T; but as the latter word is wanting in several excellent MSS. it is probable that it was added by some early critic in order to govern the gen. τῶν Ἑλλήνων. That it is not necessary, we have seen in *Phil.* I. § 20. καθ' ἑνα holds the place of a real substantive, and governs the genitive. RUEDIGER cites Diod. Sic. XIX. 107, ἀπέστειλεν οὖν κατ' ὀλίγους τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

οὕτως is used in regard to something manifest, evident to all. Cf. *infra*, § 44.

The terms *περιζόπτειν* and *λωποδυτεῖν* present Philip in the most odious light. The former is used by Demosthenes, *Or. in Mid.* § 147, in the sense of *to hack, mutilate*; *Or. de Cherson.* § 9, *to lay waste, ravage.* ÆLIAN. *Hist. Animal.* V. 39, connects *συλᾶν καὶ περιζόπτειν*. Concerning

λωποδυτεῖν, see *Phil.* I. § 47; it signifies *to rob* in a mean, trickish manner, *to fleece*. WOLF explains thus: *Agere quicquid ei libet, et singulatim ita concidere et spoliare Græcos, et aggredi atque opprimere urbes servitute.*

§ 23. προστάται, i. e. οἱ προεστῶτες. The time during which Athens enjoyed the *hegemony* in Greece is variously stated. Demosthenes and Isocrates are both so inconsistent, that it is difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion from their statements. The latter, for example (*Panath.* § 56), says the Athenian sway lasted sixty-five years; again (*Panegy.*) he gives seventy. Demosthenes (*Olynth.* III. § 24) states that they governed the Greeks forty-five years with their consent (*Ἑλλήνων ἐξόρτωρ*), in which he computes from Ol. 75. 3, to Ol. 87. 1. BOECKH, *Staatsh.* I. 475. But in the seventy-three years here given he must have reckoned from Ol. 75. 3, inclusive of the Peloponnesian war up to the battle of Ægospotamos, Ol. 93. 4, B. C. 405. C. F. HERMANN receives seventy-three years, namely, from 477 to 404 B. C. *Staatsalt.* § 156, n. 3. LUCCHESINI (*Annot. Hist. ad Olynth.* III. p. 347) adopts sixty-five years, counting from the close of the Persian war (the formal transfer of the *hegemony* from the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians), Ol. 75. 4, to the defeat of the Athenians at Syracuse, Ol. 91. 4, allowing some months for the news to arrive and the consequent defections to take place. BOECKH, following DODWELL (*Staatsh.* I. 475, note), declares for the same number, sixty-five, reckoning, however, from Ol. 77 $\frac{2}{3}$ , when the formal transfer of the *hegemony* took place. Cf. THUC. I. 95.

τριάζοντα ἐνδὸς δέοντα. The rule of the Lacedæmonians commenced after the battle of Ægospotamos, Ol. 93. 4, and continued to Ol. 101. 1, B. C. 376, when they were defeated by Chabrias at Naxos, a period of twenty-nine years. Cf. DEM. *Or. adv. Aristoc.* § 198; *Or. adv. Lept.* § 77.

τὴν ἐν Αἰώντοις μίχην. In consequence of the victory



won by the Thebans at the battle of Leuctra, the *hegemony* passed into their hands, Ol. 102. 2. B. C. 371. Cf. Diod. Sic. XV. 55.

ὁ τι βούλοισθε. So BEKKER, from *Cod. Σ*, instead of the vulg. βούλεσθε. The opt. implies that the wish varied with circumstances. *You were never permitted to do whatever you pleased*, i. e. *to act according to the pleasure of the moment*. For, as BREMI justly observes, the orator does not refer to any settled plan, but to what may have often happened. He uses the 2d pers., though he refers also to the Lacedæmonians and Thebans. See SOPH. *Gr. Gr.* § 150. 2.

Οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, *Far from it, by no means*. Lat. *Neutiquam*. Cf. F. A. WOLF's learned exposition of this formula of Attic life, *ad Lept.* p. 238. It is a more emphatic phrase for οὐδαμῶς. RUED. *ad Or. de Cherson.* § 42: "*Minime gentium, nam οὐδὲ præcedenti negationi inservit.*" DEM. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 90, οὐ γὰρ ταῦτ' ἀντ' ἐκείνων γέγονεν, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ.

§ 24. τοῦτο μὲν. Observe that this formula, which serves merely to introduce an illustration of what has just been said, is followed in the second member by πάλιν instead of τοῦτο δέ. See note to § 11, supra. τοῦτο μὲν are sometimes followed by ἢ δέ or εἴτα, as SOPH. *Philoct.* 1345; HERM. *ad VIGER.* p. 702. Cf. SOPH. *Antig.* 61, τοῦτο μὲν — εἴπειτα δ'.

μᾶλλον δέ, *or rather*.

οὐ μετρίως. Demosthenes chooses a mild term to denote the oppressions the Athenians were often guilty of towards their allies. He employs the same to denote the insolence of the Thebans after the battle of Leuctra (*Or. de Cor.* § 18), where, as DISSEN observes, κατακόρως or μάλ' ἐβριστηκῶς would have been but just.

The dat. τισιν depends on προσφέρεσθαι. WOLF: *quum quosdam non moderate tractare viderentur*.

Λακεδαιμονίους ἄρξαι. ἄρξαι h. l. non est *imperare*, sed



*imperium capessere*. SCHAEFER. This dative depends on πόλεμον, which, from its connection with the verb πολέμειν, admits of the same construction. BERNHARDY, *Gr. Syntax*, p. 92; MATTH. *Gr.* § 389. RUEDIGER prefers to govern it by the phrase εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν, which is in truth equivalent to ἐπολέμησαν, or, as THUC. I. 59 says, καταστάρτες ἐπολέμουν. But ὑμῖν is governed by τὴν αὐτήν, the same. See SOPH. *Gr. Gr.* § 202 note.

πλεονάζειν, *insolescere, plus sibi quam oportebat arrogare*. WOLF. The orator refers, not to exactions of tribute, but to the undue assumption of authority. The odious policy of Sparta is very forcibly characterized by WACHSMUTH, *Gr. Antiq.* I. p. 243. I take the liberty of transcribing a part of the passage: "Zu herrschen war ihm Bedürfniss, die Herrschaft zu vergrössern die vorwaltende Sorge; Gewalt, so weit dazu die Kraft vorhanden war, Zweideutigkeit, List und Verrath die Mittel zum Zwecke, und der Besitz der Herrschaft selbst Mittel zur Befriedigung des Frevelmuths und zum Weiterstreben. In Sparta selbst mogte die Kunst, nach entflohenem Wesen den Schein hinfort zu behaupten, mit einigem Erfolge geübt werden; ausser der Heimath aber, von der eine Menge Bürger durch Besatzungsdienst, Harmostien, etc., auf die Dauer fern gehalten wurden, irrte der Lakedämonier, sobald er nicht mit Krieg und Schlacht beschäftigt war, aus seinem Gleise und wurde den uebrigen Hellenen durch Anmassung, Barschheit und Bedrückungen für eigen oder des Staates Rechnung unerträglich.

τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐκίρουν, *abolished the existing institutions*. The Lacedæmonians destroyed the democratic constitutions in the cities of Greece, and established oligarchies in their stead, forcing them to receive the governors (ἀρμοσταί) appointed by them, which was too often but another name for tyrants. Cf. C. F. HERM. *Staatsalt.* § 39, notes 7, 8. and FELTON's note to ISOC. *Panegy.* p. 105.

§ 25. οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ τι, κ. τ. λ., *equiva-*

lent to ἄν ἐπείρ ἐΐχομεν. *Though in the beginning we could not complain that, etc.*

ὑπὲρ ὧν = ὑπὲρ τούτων ᾧ. DEM. Or. de Fal. Leg. § 214, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγωνίζεται.

ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα οὐχ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν, *in not quite thirteen years.* “Inde ab Ol. 106. 3, quo tempore Philippus jam apertius bello sacro se immiscere et in Græcorum libertatem grassari cœpit.” FRANKÉ. ὧν = τούτων ᾧ.

ἐπιπολάζει, said contemptuously. Lit. *floats, gets his head above water.* HESYCHIUS explains: ἐπιπλεῖν, *innatare.* PASSOW, *Gr. Lex.*: Φίλιππος ἐπιπολάζει, *Philipp hat das Uebergewicht, oder schwimmt oben.* Cf. also LOBECK *ad Phryn.* p. 2. Philip succeeded to the throne of Macedon Ol. 105. 1, since which time eighteen years had elapsed. The glory of his reign, however, began with his conquest of the tyrants of Thessaly, which JACOBS assigns to Ol. 105. 4, but WINIEWSKI to Ol. 106. 4.

πέμπτον μέρος. This is the reading adopted by VOEMEL and SAUPPE from the *Codd.* Σ, Ω. All the other *Codd.* have πολλοστὸν instead of πέμπτον, and the first Aldine πολλοστὸν πέμπτον; one of which it is evident must be a gloss. τούτων refers to Philip's acts of injustice, ἐκείνα to those committed by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.

§ 26. πόλεις ἐπὶ Θράκης. The ancient authors used the expression τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης to designate the peninsula in the northern part of the Thracian Sea, which received the name of Chalcidice, from the colony planted there by the city of Chalcis in Eubœa. At that time it was considered as belonging neither to Thrace nor to Macedonia. Amphipolis was the extreme northern boundary (cf. GOELLER *ad THUC.*, I. 59). In the time of Demosthenes this peninsula contained a large number of cities in league with Olynthus, which was the largest (cf. BRUECKNER *König Phil.* p. 347; LUCCHESINI, *Ann. Hist.* p. 335; VOEMEL, *Prol. ad Phil.* I. *et Olynth.* p. 23). Apollonia was situated a little north of Olynthus, and was in alliance with it.

ἀς ἀπάσας . . . ἐπέειν. AUGER interprets, *quas universas adeo crudeliter excidit, ut, si accesseris, nec an unquam habitata fuerint facile dicas*. The vulg. has μηδέρα before μηδ', which VOEMEL retains in brackets. It is not found in Cod. Σ.

παράρρηται, perf. of παραιρέομαι. Render the clause, *Has he not taken away their free institutions and cities, and established tetrarchies?* The aorist is used with the perf., probably for this reason, that the tetrarchies were still in existence. AUGER edits, τετραδαρχίας. By this change of government the cities lost their independence, and in this loss Demosthenes perceived the ruin of the cities themselves. They ceased to be commonwealths and became mere dependencies of Macedonia. "Post id quidem tempus," observes VOEMEL, "urbes Thessaliæ, sive quia erant debilitatæ sive quia per mutatam reipublicæ formam jus amiserant, monetam signare desierunt." *Programme of the Frankfort Gymnasium*, Summer-Semest. 1830, p. 4.

κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἔθνη. These words refer to the double yoke of servitude imposed by Philip, explained in *Phil.* II. § 22, note. ἔθνη signifies here the *cantons* or *provinces* in which he instituted *tetrarchies*. He appointed native citizens as rulers, but appropriated the revenues to himself. WACHSMUTH, *Gr. Antiq.* II. 376; TOURREIL, p. 333.

§ 27. καὶ ταῦτα, *and that too*. Lat. *idque*; Germ. *und zwar*. The neuter plural with καί is more common than the singular, where a whole sentence is referred to. Cf. *Or. de Cherson.* § 55; MATTH. *Gr.* § 472, n. 7; VIGER. p. 176.

εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς γράφει. Concerning this construction, compare *infra*. § 42.

Καὶ οὐ γράφει, κ. τ. λ. Render, *And he does not write these things and not do them*, i. e. *he does not confine himself to words, he makes use of no vain threats*. The conj. δ' conveys opposition to the preceding clause, and ἀλλ' to



both together. In such cases, οὐ — δέ may be rendered by *without*, with the gerundial construction; and he does not write *without performing*, etc. A well-known example of this construction is contained in our orator's Oration *de Corona*, § 179, οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρόσβουσα δε, οὐκ ἐπρόσβουσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους.

ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν. In Ol. 109. 2, Philip, having recently returned from the conquest of Illyria, made preparations to invade Western Greece, intending, as it appears, to make himself master of the Corinthian colonies, Ambracia and Leucas, for the purpose of gaining an easier access to the Peloponnesus. The author of the Oration *de Haloneso* mentions (§ 32) that Philip in the same campaign took several cities in the southern part of Epirus, and ravaged and burnt the surrounding country. But the Athenians, at the solicitations of the patriot orators, sent an embassy, of which Demosthenes was a member, into the Peloponnesus, and it is probable into Acarnania, to excite those states to resist Philip's movements. About the same time, as we learn from DEM. *Or. adv. Olympiodor.* p. 1174 ed. REISKE, the Athenians sent troops into Acarnania for the purpose, most probably, of assisting to repel the invaders. The effect of these prompt measures was, that Philip was compelled to abandon his designs upon Ambracia. Cf. WINIEWSKI, *Comm. Hist. et Chron. in Or. de Cor.* p. 155 et seqq.; BRUECKNER, *König Phil.* p. 247.

Ἡλιεῖ. The interference of Philip in the politics as well of Elis as of so many other cities, was productive of the most baneful effects. There, also, citizens were not wanting who were capable of betraying their country's liberties for gold. Many of the aristocratic and powerful were thus induced to favor his cause, and dissensions ensued, which ended in a violent and bloody encounter (DEM. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 260). The result was unfavorable to the liberal party; the democracy was in effect abolished, and



the government passed into the hands of a few citizens who were already under Philip's influence, and who shortly after formed an open league with him. Consult PAUSAN. IV. 28 and V. 4; BRUECKNER, *König Phil.* p. 242; WINIEWSKI, p. 154, refers these events to Ol. 109. 1.

χωρεῖ, *fills, satisfies. Ni la Grèce ni les pais barbares ne peuvent remplir son ambition démesurée.* TOURREIL.

§ 28. διορροῦμεθα κατὰ πόλεις, *We are separated into cities*, i. e. isolated, as it were, by entrenchments. "Proprie [hoc verbum] dicitur de muris, vinculis et aliis ejusmodi rebus; h. l. *perforati sumus*, i. e. AUGER bene monente, *tanquam fossis interjectis separati sumus.*" RUEDIGER. The orator's remarks concerning these divisions in *Or. de Cor.* § 61, may be cited as illustrative of this passage.

συστῆναι. Compare *Phil.* II. § 35.

§ 29. περιορῶμεν, *we overlook, disregard.* Cf. THUC. II. 20; DEM. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 66.

τὸν χρόνον κερδᾶναι. BREMI interprets: *unusquisque Græcorum constituit tempus istud in lucro sibi ponere, quo perit alius*, i. e. *each enjoys the peace without seeming to think his own turn may come next.* The part. σκοπῶν and πράττων are adjuncts of ἕκαστος.

περίοδος ἢ καταβολὴ πυρετοῦ. HARPOCRATION under the word καταβολή says, in reference to this passage, ἐν ταῖς περιοδικαῖς νόσοις λέγεται τις καταβολή, διὰ τὸ ἐν ἀποδεδειγμένῳ προΐεναι χρόνῳ. I cannot, however, believe that Demosthenes, in comparing this evil to a περίοδος, had any reference to a disease which returns at regular intervals. But he explains his meaning in another place (*Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 262), speaking on the same subject: ὡς βαδίζον γε κύκλῳ καὶ δεῦρ' ἐλήλυθεν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ νόσημα τοῦτο. In both passages he means a disease like an epidemic, which, so to speak, *goes the round*, and attacks all in turn. "Demosthenes, Plato, Aristides accessionem febris καταβολήν vocant." LOBECK *ad Phryn.* p. 669. BREMI is of opinion that a *periodical attack of fever* is here meant, which

the orator expressed by two substantives for the want of a suitable adjective, the derivative *περιοδικός* belonging to a later age. They should rather be understood as distinct similes, not as synonymous terms. An epidemic is not necessarily a fever.

*προσέχεται*, sc. Philip. The order of construction is, *ἐπεὶ οὐδεὶς ἀγροεῖ ὅτι γε [Φίλιππος] ὥσπερ περίοδος . . . προσέχεται καὶ τῷ νῦν δοκοῦντι πάντῳ πόρῳ ἀφροσύνην*.

§ 30. *ἀλλ' οὖν* — γε, yet at least, doch aber wenigstens.

RUED. Render, yet at least they were wronged by the genuine sons of Greece.

*ὥσπερ ἂν* understand *ὑπολάβοι*. RUED.

*ἄξιον*. This emendation of REISKE is accepted by BEKKER and most of the recent editors. The MSS. have *ἄξιος*, but the construction requires the accusative, for the sense of the passage is this: "And one might have judged of this as he would of a legitimate son, who, on coming into a great fortune, managed it discredibly and unjustly, that in this respect he was deserving of blame and impeachment, but it could not be said that he acted thus as an alien, and not the heir of the property." This construction is confirmed by that of the following sentence.

*εἶναι*. AUGER edits, as a conjecture, *οὐκ ἔργον ἂν λέγειν*.

§ 31. *ὑποβολιμαῖος*, a suppositious child, a false heir.

*ἐλνυμᾶινετο*. Compare infra, § 36.

*ὀργῆς*. So BEKKER, from *Codd. Σ, Υ. Harl. Vulg. πολλῆς ὀργῆς*, which RUEDIGER approves, but *μᾶλλον πολλῆς ὀργῆς ἄξιον* is too harsh. •

*οὐχ οὕτως ἔχουσιν*, sc. *οἱ Ἕλληνες*. The repetition of *οὐχ* gives great force to the negation. RUED.: *Non ita affecti sunt*. Cf. VIGER. p. 248.

*οὐχ Ἕλληνας ὄντας*. The Hellenic origin of the Macedonians was disputed by the Greeks. Demosthenes shared this national prejudice in a very high degree, and strove as often as occasion offered to excite his countrymen against Philip, on the ground of his being a barbarian. But the

early seat of the Macedonians, as well as their language and traditions, prove them to have been of Pelægic origin, and therefore related to the Hellenes. Cf. MUELLER, *History of the Dorians*, pp. 3, 50; BRUECKNER, *König Phil.* p. 14.

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρων, κ. τ. λ. Render, *but not even a barbarian from a place which it were honorable to mention, but a vile pest of Macedonia, from whence formerly not even an honest slave was to be bought.* πρίσθαι is wanting in *Cod. Σ*, and as the thought is complete without it, SPENGLER thinks it may have been supplied by another hand. We learn from the Scholiast (cf. REISKE ad h. l.) that slaves brought from Scythia, Cappadocia, Thrace, Phrygia, and Egypt were highly esteemed by the Athenians for their fidelity. There were none, however, brought from Macedonia, and Demosthenes attributes this to the worthless character of that people, who stood in such evil repute that no one would have a slave that bore the name. Much allowance is doubtless to be made for oratorical coloring. Cf. WEISKE *de Hyperb.* I. 18; II. 47.

§ 32. πόλεις. Some MSS. have after this word Ἑλληνίδας, which is wanting in *Cod. Σ* and several others of high authority. REISKE defends it in a somewhat curious manner: *Addidit Ἑλληνίδας, non quo necesse id esset, nam πόλεις nullæ aliæ sunt, quam Græciæ civitates, legibus constitutæ aliisque humanitatis artibus excultæ (proprie barbaris πόλεις nullæ sunt) sed ob consensum librorum.* But there is no sufficient reason for such a limitation of πόλεις, which may just as well refer to the towns that Philip had destroyed in the north as those in Greece itself. Compare supra, § 26.

τίθῃσι μὲν τὰ Πύθια, *Does he not institute* (i. e. preside at) *the Pythian games.* The neg. οὐ continued to πέμπει and γράφει. The management of the Pythian games belonged to the Amphictyons, but on the admission of Philip into that body they conferred upon him the chief place at



those games. He first exercised this office in the early part (HERM. *Göttesd. Alt.* § 49, n. 12) of the third year of the 108th Olympiad, in the month of *Boedromion*, when the Athenians, incensed at the wretched fate of the Phocians, refused to appoint delegates to the celebration. Cf. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 128; *Or. de Pace*, § 22; WINIEWSKI, p. 85.

τοὺς δούλους, i. e. Philip's deputies, who conducted the games in his stead. Demosthenes calls them slaves from contempt. The ἀγοροθίται or βραβεύται were those who proposed and distributed prizes, etc.

προμαρτείας, precedence in consulting the oracle at Delphi. This dignity was not confined to Greeks; it was sometimes conferred on barbarians. Cf. JACOBS, *Anm.* p. 497; C. F. HERMANN, *Relig. Antiq.* § 40, n. 16.

παρώσας. Cf. DEM. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 327, ἡ πόλις δὲ τὴν προμαρτείαν ἀφ' ἑρρίχεται. The privileges which had been enjoyed by some of the members of the Amphictyonic confederacy were yielded to Philip out of deference to his rank. This offended the proud Athenian, who saw nothing in a king to entitle him to this preference. The words inclosed in brackets are wanting in *Codex Σ*, but they are so entirely in the spirit of Demosthenes, that an eminent critic (SPENGE, *Abhandl. über die dritte Phil.*, *Mün. Acad. der Wissenschaft.* p. 178) thinks their genuineness cannot be doubted, but conjectures they were added by the author himself afterwards, like many passages in this oration. The repetition, however, of the words Θετταλοὺς — Θετταλοῖς, and ξέροις — ξέρους is unpleasant and naturally excites suspicion.

§ 33. Πορθμόν. Porthmus, a town on the western coast of Eubœa (cf. HARPOCRAT.), was the seaport and fortress of the city of Eretria, which next to Chalcis was the largest on the island. The orator expatiates more fully upon the state of affairs in this city and Oreus, *infra*, §§ 57, 59.



τὸν δῆμον denotes, as is most probable, *the liberal party*.

τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. Construe thus: ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι θεωρεῖν [ταῦτα] τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ [θεωροῦσι] τὴν χάλαζαν, ἕκαστοι εὐχόμενοι μὴ γενέσθαι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, κ. τ. λ. γενέσθαι is used in relation to the motion and origin of natural objects: *praying severally that it may not come against themselves*, i. e. their fields.

§ 34. ἐφ' οἷς, for ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς, i. e. *the injuries by which*.

ὑπὲρ ὧν. Compare DEM. Or. de Fal. Leg. § 214, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγωνίζεται περὶ τούτων ἀπολογεῖσθαι.

τοῦσχατόν ἐστιν for τὸ ἔσχατόν ἐστιν. The sense is, *For this is the last degree* of apathy, i. e. when a man will not repel the injuries committed upon himself.

Κορινθίων ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν. See note to § 27. Ambracia was a flourishing commercial city, lying on the River Arachthus, not far from its entrance into the Bay of Ambracia (cf. HAPPOCRAT).

Λευκάδα. The city of Leucas, also a colony of the Corinthians, was situated on the island of Leucadia in the northern part. This island once formed a part of Acarnania.

Ναύπακτον. Naupactus, now *Lepanto*, a city of considerable size and importance, lying on the northern coast of the Corinthian Gulf, in Locris Ozolis. After the Peloponnesian war it had come into the possession of the Achæans (DIOD. SIC. XV. 75), who were afterwards expelled by the Thebans under Epaminondas. But at the death of the latter and the ensuing downfall of the Theban domination, Naupactus was again occupied by the Achæans. The Ætolians had long been desirous of securing it, on account of its advantageous position and its vicinity to their boundaries XEN. Hellen. IV. 6. 14.). In this they appear to have succeeded through Philip's assistance, for the place is mentioned by Strabo, Polybius, and others as belonging to the Ætolians. RUED. Hist. Com. p. 184.

*Ἐχῖνον*, *Echinus*. There were two cities of this name; one in Acarnania, and the other in Phthiotis, a province of Thessaly, situated on the *Sinus Maliacus*. The latter is here meant, as appears from the distinction of Demosthenes: *Θηβαίων Ἐχῖνον*, which is confirmed by the testimony of the Scholiast ULPIAN: *Ἐχῖνος πόλις, Θηβαίων μὲν ἄποινος, πλυσίον δὲ Θετταλίας*. RUED. p. 185; WINIEWSKI, p. 224.

*Βυζαντίους*. Byzantium, a great commercial city lying on the Bosphorus, controlled the entire trade of the Euxine Sea. The large importations of grain from Pontus into Greece, particularly into Attica, made this city a place of the utmost importance. In reference to these circumstances, Demosthenes, *Or. de Corona*, § 87, says, that Philip was endeavoring to engage the people of Byzantium, *his allies* (*συμμάχους ὄντας ἀντὶ*) to take up arms against Athens in order that he might get the command of the Channel. Compare also *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 180; БОЕЦКН, *Staatsh.* I. 85; F. A. WOLF *ad Lept.* p. 252; WINIEWSKI, p. 186.

*Καρδίαν*. Cardia was situated at the extremity of Chersonesus, on the boundary of Thrace, near the mouth of the River Mela and the western end of the long wall built by Miltiades as a defence against the incursions of the barbarians (WINIEWSKI, p. 197). The claims set up by Athens to this city were ridiculous. For when Cersobleptes in Ol. 105. 3 (cf. *supra*, § 16) ceded to the Athenians the peninsula of Chersonesus, he expressly reserved the city of Cardia. The Cardians themselves were always opposed to such a union, and hence were frequently termed the enemies of the Athenians (DEM. *Or. adv. Aristocr.* §§ 169, 175). After Philip had conquered Cersobleptes and seized the maritime fortresses of Thrace, Ol. 108. 2, the Athenians, apprehensive that Philip would advance into Chersonesus, insisted most strenuously on their right to the possession of Cardia, which Diopeithes undertook to secure by force

(*Or. de Cherson.* § 19 ; *LIBAN. Arg.* § 2). The Cardians implored the aid of Philip, with whom they had stood in alliance even before the peace (cf. *Phil. Epist.* § 11), and were thereby enabled to repulse Diopeithes (*Or. de Cherson* § 58). Moreover, it appears from *DEM. Or. de Pace*, § 25, that Athens had consented to the treaty that Cardia should be separated from Chersonesus. Consult on this subject, *WINIEWSKI.* p. 197 ; *LUCCHESINI, Annot. Hist.* p. 377.

§ 35. οὐχ ἡμῶν. The orator was about to mention several of Philip's seizures of the possessions of Athens, but he breaks off and notices but a single instance which is closely connected with the present subject. See introduction to *Phil. III.* μαλακίζόμεθα. This verb conveys the notion of *unmanly and timorous indecision*. Harpocration explains it by τὸν ὀρῶον γρίπτειν. Cf. *LOBECK ad Phryn.* p. 389. Photius, quoting this passage, has μαλκίμεν, which form is preferred by *SCHAEFER* and *RUEDIGER.* *Cunctamur et mollescimus, et ad proximos respicimus, aliis alii diffidentes illo tam aperte nobis omnibus insultante.* *AUGER.*

καθ' ἑα. Cf. *supra*, § 22, note.

τί ποιήσῃς ; the pronoun is repeated for the sake of emphasis. Some, considering it as superfluous, have struck it out. *SCHAEFER* conjectures it may have grown out of the following π. It should be retained. Compare a parallel instance in *Or. de Corona*, § 240, τί ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότ' . . . κύριος κατέστη ; . . . τί ποιεῖν ἂν ἢ τί λέγειν.

§ 36. οὐ γὰρ ἄνεν λόγον καὶ δικαίας αἰτίας, *for not without a reason and well-grounded cause.*

εἶχον — πρὸς. εἶχον πρὸς, c. acc. expresses the disposition of mind towards any person or thing. Cf. *VIGER.* p. 249.

τῶν πολλῶν the mass of the people.

ἐλευθεῖν ἡγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα. "Αγεῖν is here used in the sense of preserving, as it is in such expressions as εὐρίνῃ ἄγειν, σχολὴν ἄγειν, etc. It is used to signify the continuation of a condition, like the English verb to keep.



μάχης οὐδεμιᾶς ἴτιᾱτο. *Ἥτιᾱσθαι* is equivalent to ἵπτω εἶναι, *to be inferior or unequal to*, and takes the genitive of the thing to which we are inferior, and the dative of that in which we are so. BREMI. Cf. VIGER. p. 64 et seqq; MATTH. Gr. § 357.

ῥῆν δ' ἀπολωλὸς, κ. τ. λ. *Render, but the loss of which in recent times has ruined every thing, and thrown all public affairs into the utmost disorder.*

λελύμαται, third pers. sing. perf. of λυμαίνομαι. MATTH. Gr. § 191. 3. The active form was not used till a later period, and even then but rarely. It signifies *to injure or to spoil* by ill-treatment; hence, *to corrupt, to ruin*. DEM. Or. in Mid. § 173, ἵππαρχος δὲ χειροτονηθεὶς λελύμαται τὸ ἱππικὸν ὑμῶν. Compare supra, § 31.

ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεπόνηκε, *peturbavit, confudit, permiscuit, invertit*. WOLF.

§ 37. τοὺς παρὰ, κ. τ. λ. Construe in this order: ἅπαντες ἐμίσουν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας χορήματα παρὰ τῶν βουλ. ἀρχ. The vulg. has οὐδὲν ποικίλον οὐδὲ σοφὸν, ἀλλ' ὅτι before τοὺς, which words are wanting in the Codd. Σ, Υ, and not noticed by Aristides. Cf. SPENGEL, p. 179. They are not in the spirit of Demosthenes, and I have with VOEMEL rejected them.

χαλεπώτατον ἦν. WOLF: *et gravissimum crimen erat, si quis accepisse munera convincebatur.*

τιμωρία μεγίστη, κ. τ. λ. In the purer days of the republic, a person convicted of taking a bribe was condemned to death, or fined ten times the value of the present he had received. БОЕСКН, *Staatsh.* I. p. 399. The penalty of confiscation and infamy was sometimes inflicted. The laws in relation to this offence still remained unaltered; Demosthenes means that formerly they were rigorously enforced, whereas now, from the decline of moral feeling and perhaps from indolence, corruption and treason had free course.

§ 38. Τὸν οὐκ αἰρετόν, κ. τ. λ. The sense is, *Hence it was not possible to purchase from the orators nor generals the*



*single advantages* [i. e. opportunities of winning], *which fortune frequently furnishes*. This is said in reference to the venal orators Æschines, Eubulus, and others, who labored to thwart every measure that could benefit Athens. The generals, too, from the same cause, often sought their own profit in postponing or neglecting the chances which offered themselves. Concerning this general corruption in the Grecian cities, see DEM. *Or. de Cor.* §§ 61, 295 et seq. C. F. HERM. *Staatsalt.* § 72.

§ 39. ἄπαρθ' . . . ταῦτα, i. e. the patriotic principles and integrity above described. *Now all these are bartered, as it were, in the market-place.*

ἀρτειςῆται, perf. pass. of ἀρτειςάγω, here used instead of the present to denote what was usual. ἀρτειςάγειν and εἰσάγειν are both used concerning the exchange and importation of merchandise. Cf. *Or. de Cor.* § 145. Construe thus: ἀρτὶ τούτων δὲ ἀρτειςῆται [ἔτερον] ὑφ' ὧν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀπόλωλε καὶ νερόσηρον. Concerning νερόσηρον, see supra, § 12.

τούτοις is neuter plural. *Hatred, should any one censure such conduct.* For ἐπιτιμᾶν with the dative, cf. BERNHARDY, *Gr. Syntax*, p. 92. Between the particles εἰ and ἂν (which is thus formed, εἰ ἂν, εἰάν, ἄν) this difference is to be noticed: εἰ refers simply to a supposition; ἂν implies the notion of experience, like the English *when* in like circumstances: *laughter, when he confesses; hatred, when any one blames his conduct.* See the acute exposition of these particles by the learned HERMANN *ad VIGER.* p. 832.

ἰσότηται. This verb with ἕξ signifies *to depend on, to follow as a consequence*. Cf. PASSOW, *Gr. Lex.*; BERNHARDY, *Gr. Syntax*, p. 227. The first of the cases here supposed refers to the shameless venality of Philocrates; the latter is to be understood of the orator himself, and the unsuccessful impeachment he had recently made of the ambassadors, περὶ παραπροσβείας. Compare *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 272.

§ 40. Ἐπεὶ — γε. *Quandoquidem.* HERM.

σώματα, *warriors, able-bodied men.* Compare XEN. *Anab.* I. 9. 12, καὶ χόρματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἐντῶν σώματα. Concerning the thought, compare *Phil.* I. § 40.

παρασκευῆς signifies the equipment of an army, *suppeller.* GOELLER *ad* THUCYD. I. 10. Cf. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 89.

ῥῆρ is opposed to τότε, which refers to the time of the Persian war. FRANKE.

ἅπανσι. The orator refers to the Greeks *in general*, not merely to the Athenians.

ὑπὸ τῶν πωλούντων, *under the influence of these traffickers.* Observe the roundness and force imparted to the period by the three adjectives, ἄχρηστα ἄπρακτα ἀρόνητα, with which compare *Phil.* I. § 36.

§ 41. γράμματα, *record, inscription.* Cf. *Or. de Corona*, § 55, τὰ δημόσια γράμματα. Public documents were not unfrequently engraved on tablets or columns of stone or brass, both for the purpose of securing greater durability and to prevent alterations. Hence, γράφειν originally signified *to grave*, corresponding to the Lat. *incidere*, for which sometimes *inscribere* was used. This notion of *incision* was connected even with writing letters, as appears in the common expression, εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς γράφω. Cf. *supra*, § 27.

ὁ κείνοι. Order of construction: ὁ κείνοι γράψαντες εἰς στήλην χαλκῇν κατέθετο εἰς ἀκρόπολιν. The following passage inclosed in brackets is not contained in *Codex Σ pr. manu.* but is so perfectly in the style and spirit of Demosthenes, that I do not think it proper to withhold it from the reader, as BAITER and SAUPPE and FRANKE have done. If the opinion entertained by many of the most eminent critics of our own times is correct, that the great difference to be found in the manuscripts of this and several other orations is to be ascribed to a revision of them by the orator himself, we must believe that this thought was inserted by his own hand.

ὥς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων σπονδάζειν προσίξει. The sense is, *how severe it is necessary to be in such cases*, i. e. *in relation to such offences*. ὑπὲρ is here used very much in the sense of *περί*, a thing not unusual with our author. Compare *Phil. I. § 1*, and note.

§ 42. Ἀρθμιος. The *Codex Σ* and several others exhibit Ἀρθμιος, which RUEDIGER prefers. But the vulg. form Ἀρθμιος is found in *DEM. Or. de Fal. Leg. § 271*. Cf. WOLF, p. 168. Also Æschines alluding to this Arthmius (*Or. adv. Ctesiphon. § 258*), mentions him as πρόξενος τῶν Ἀθηναίων. The πρόξενος was a person appointed by the state in foreign cities to protect the interest of its citizens (not unlike our foreign consuls), who enjoyed all the privileges which a foreigner could possess in Athens without being a citizen. C. F. HERM. *Staatsalt. § 116, n. 4*. Unless some relation of this kind existed between Arthmius and the Athenians, it is difficult to perceive the propriety of such a decree, which was in general issued only against citizens.

ἄτιμος. The orator explains more fully *infra*, § 44.

αὐτὸς καὶ γένος. This is said by way of exception, for the dishonor attached usually only to the person convicted. It was the deepest brand of infamy when it was extended to the family of the criminal.

τὸν χρυσόν. This term signifies in general, *gold unwrought or uncoined*. In the following section the orator employs the more exact χρυσίον, which denotes the *metal coined*. The same distinction obtains between ἀργυρος and ἀργύριον. Compare *Or. de Cor. § 36*; BOECKH, *Staatsh. II. p. 213*.

§ 43. Ἀσφίξασθε δὲ, κ. τ. λ. *Think, then, . . . what must have been the spirit of the Athenians of that time, etc.*

ἀξίωμα. “*Dignitatem hic appellat magnifica facta, tanta republica digna.*” WOLF. But I agree with Schaefer, that it is to be understood of a *moral dignity*: “*Mihi videtur ἀξίωμα h. l. esse idem quod γρόνημα.*”

*Zēleia.* Hujus loci meminit Homerus *Iliad* II. 824, ubi videndus est Eustathius, qui monet, hanc urbem in ultima montis Idæ parte sitam fuisse, centum nonaginta stadiis a Cyzico distantem, ad fluvium Asopum. RUED. The gold coins of Cyzicum were celebrated; its *staters* were called *Kυζικηροί*. Cf. DEM. *Or. adv. Mid.* § 173; БОЕЦКН, *Staatsh.* I. p. 25. Athens in earlier times did not coin gold, or at most very little, and even so late as the time of Demosthenes the gold in circulation was chiefly foreign. The money used in trade was commonly silver. БОЕЦКН, *Staatsh.* I. 24 – 32.

*ἀρέσσωται.* This verb is used in regard to laws and other public documents, which were *graved* in stone or metal. Hence, *to make known*, *to publish*, both in a good and in a bad sense. Cf. *supra*, § 41, note.

§ 44. *ἀτιμία.* There were several degrees of *ἀτιμία* at Athens. MEIER (*de Bonis Damnatis*. p. 105) distinguishes three, *maxima*, *media*, *minima*. The first is where the persons of the convicts were infamous and their property confiscated. The second was that in which the persons were branded with dishonor, though they were allowed to retain their property. These two sentences were sometimes extended to the descendants of the offender. The third or least degree was that with which the debtors to the public treasury were affected, by which they were suspended from the exercise of certain civil rights till they discharged the debt (cf. C. F. HERM. *Staatsalt.* § 124, n. 8). If the payment was deferred for too long a period, it was sometimes attended with confiscation. Such persons were *ἀτιμοὶ κατὰ προστάξεις*, as ANDOCIDES (*de Myster.* p. 35) calls them; that is, *in certain respects*, the particular disqualification being specified in their sentence; namely to speak in the Assembly, to become Senator, to institute a legal complaint, to visit particular places, etc. The *ἀτιμοὶ* of the second class were deprived of all public rights; they were prohibited from all assemblies of the people, from the market,



from public sacrifices, or if they ventured to pass the prescribed limits they were seized and thrown into prison (SCHÖEM. *de Comit. Ath.* p. 74). Theft, cowardice in war, false witness, unfilial treatment of parents, insults to officiating magistrates, wasteful extravagance, profligacy, or the like, were punished with this species of ignominy. Such ἀτιμία was very common, and is probably what the orator refers to by the words ἢν οὐτωςί τις ἀν γήσσει ἀτιμίαν. But the ἄτιμοι of the highest degree lost all protection of the laws; politically speaking they ceased to exist, and, like outlaws could be put to death with impunity. Proscriptions of this nature are very rarely mentioned by the ancient authors. The case of Arthmius is again commented upon by Demosthenes, *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 271. Also by Æschines, *Or. adv. Ctesiphon.* p. 647, and by DINARCHUS, *Or. adv. Aristog.* p. 108.

§ 44. τῷ Ζελείτῃ. Themistocles, according to Plutarch, was the author of the terrible decree here alluded to. The occasion of its publication (I follow the account given by TOURREIL) was briefly as follows. Egypt had shaken off the yoke of Artaxerxes, who immediately marched with a formidable army to chastise the rebels into obedience. This he was unable to do, for the reason that Athens had sent troops to their assistance. The anger of Artaxerxes was thereupon turned against the Athenians. He sent secret agents into Peloponnesus, with large sums of money, to induce the states to commence war against them. But the temptation proved vain; Sparta, notwithstanding her deep-rooted jealousy and hatred which on other occasions were ready to kindle, refused to lend herself to the resentment of the king of Persia. It is probable that Arthmius was one of these emissaries, though his name is not mentioned by Diodorus, and that he was thus stigmatized on account of his previous intimate relations with Athens.

ἐν τοῖς πορίσοις . . . νόμοις, κ. τ. λ., in the laws relating to murder, concerning those cases in which it is not permitted

to arraign the homicide. Understand ὁ ρομοθέτης as the subject of διδῶ, i. e. Draco, whose laws concerning capital crimes continued in force. Comp. DEM. Or. adv. Euerget. et Mnesib. § 71; WACHSMUTH, Gr. Antiq. II. p. 268 et seqq. A murderer in Attica was at liberty to leave the country, if he pleased, before the sentence of the Areopagus was pronounced. No one had a right to stop him; the parricide only was arrested and compelled to await his trial. If the person accused of murder was pronounced guilty, and he was still in the country, he suffered death, which was the punishment prescribed by the statutes of Draco. Whoever had escaped this sentence by flight dared not return home; if he did, he was ἄτιμος in the highest degree, and any one who killed him was not amenable to justice. If any person should slay him in his flight, or while he remained abroad, he was himself a murderer. C. O. MUELLER, Eumenid. p. 127. Cf. Or. adv. Aristocr. § 37 et seqq., where the orator discusses this law. The expression δίκας δικάζειν is said of the judge, δίκας δικάζεσθαι of him who is tried. Sometimes merely the crime is designated without δίκας; as, Or. adv. Aristocr. § 67, τοῦ φόρου δικάζεσθαι, to be tried for murder.

Τοῦτο δὲ λέγει, κ. τ. λ., That is to say, he who kills any of these (sc. infamous persons) is innocent. Draco ait enim ἄτιμος τεθράτω ὁ τοιοῦτος, quod Demosthenes recte explicat καθαρὸς ἔστω ὁ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀποκτείνας. MEIER, de Bonis Damnat. p. 102.

§ 45. μὴ τοῦθ' ἐπολαμβάνουσιν, unless they thought so. μὴ here has the force of εἰ μὴ. WOLF interprets: Alioqui non curassent, si quis in Peloponneso aliquos emeret et corrumperet, nisi ita sensissent.

Ἐξολάζον — ἐτιμωροῦντο. The first of these verbs is used in relation to chastising for the purpose of correcting the offender; the other, in regard to the penalty due to the laws.

σημίτας ποιεῖν, to stigmatize by inscribing their names on

a column. After αἰσθούτο many MSS. have δωροδοχοῦντας, which SPENGEL justly condemns, for Demosthenes is speaking of *bribers*, not of those who took bribes. The meaning of οὗς αἰσθούτο is evident from the preceding verbs ὠρεῖται and διαφθείρει; if another defining word were necessary, it would be διαφθείροντας, the very opposite of the clearly false emendation δωροδοχοῦντας, which SCHAEFER approves.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκότως, *And hence deservedly.*

τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, instead of οἱ Ἕλληνες. Cf. *Phil.* I. 12. The following adjective φοβερὰ is to be understood in an active sense of *the dread which they inspired.*

§ 46. παρὰπλησίως, supply ἔχουσι. The sense is, *All the other Greeks are in the same way and no better than yourselves.*

βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς. RUEDIGER places these words after προσδεῖσθαι. I have followed the collocation of BEKKER and VOEMEL. Both these editors retain the vulg. Τίτος before εἶπω, which SPENGEL with reason regards as a spurious addition of a later age, inserted to produce a closer connection. The words inclosed in brackets are preserved in the *Codices* of the second family, and probably were written by the orator in the revision already mentioned. The evident confusion in the common text, as well as the variation in the manuscripts, led SPENGEL to the opinion, that the books contained a mixture of the original and revision. The *Cod. Σ* omits the words included in brackets.

§ 47. εὐήθης λόγος. εὐήθης is like our *simple, good-natured*; said in derision. So *Or. de Corona*, § 11, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὐήθεις ᾤήθης.

γῆς ἀπάσης, that is, *all Greece*. By means of the *decarchiæ* and *harmostæ*, which the Lacedæmonians everywhere established after the close of the Peloponnesian war, they might literally be said to govern all. Comp. *Or. de Cor.* § 96, *Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων*, &c. WINIEWSKI, *Hist. Com.* p. 16.

ὑγίστατο δ' οὐδὲρ αὐτοῖς, *nothing withstood them.* The

Greeks were not fond of continuing a relative construction; hence the sudden change often gives the appearance of a want of connection. *ἐγίστασθαι*, *sustinerē*, is construed either with the acc. or dat. THUC. II. 61, *ξημεροαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐθέλειν ἐγίστασθαι*. Cf. MATTH. Gr. § 400.

*ἀνερπάσθη*. REISKE explains, "*funditus perdere, ut si arborem radicitus humo evellas.*" In this sense ÆSCHINES, *Or. adv. Ctes.* 133: *Θῆβαι δέ, Θῆβαι, πόλις ἀστυγείτωρ, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνερπασται*.

*ἐπίδοσι*. HESYCHIUS and SUIDAS explain by *αὔξισις*, *προσθήκη*.

*καὶ οὐδὲν . . . πρότερον*, and the state of affairs now bears no resemblance to the past.

*οὐδὲν ἡγούμαι . . . ἐπιδεωζέειν*. The sense is, *Yet I think nothing has made more advancement and improvement than the art of war*. A comparison of this passage with *Phil. I.* § 3, will show that a marked change had taken place in our orator's sentiments within ten years. There he himself cites their successful resistance of Sparta as a reason for encouragement in the contest with Philip. But the times were now different. The wealth and resources of the Grecian states had increased, but they lay more in the hands of individuals, and less in the coffers of the public. No doubt much of this improvement in their prosperity was to be attributed to the peace which they had enjoyed for the last five years. But in nothing was the change more evident than in the manner of carrying on war, and this was to be ascribed mainly to Philip. His residence in Thebes had not only given him an insight into the condition and policy of the Grecian states, but had doubtless suggested to him many improvements in military tactics, which he afterwards carried out and perfected into a system (cf. BRUECKNER, *König Phil.* p. 308). The chief of these was the Macedonian phalanx, which, directed by Philip's energetic promptness, skill, and observation, was an instrument of warfare which gave him an immense advantage



over his less enterprising neighbors. It is true that Demosthenes does not attribute his successes to this phalanx, but its history shows that in battle it was always very effective. The orator proceeds to compare the old method of conducting a campaign with the innovations Philip had introduced.

ἐπιδεδωκέσθαι, here equivalent to ἡξῆσθαι *augmentum cepisse*.

§ 48. τὴν ὥραν is used substantively, and embraces the whole season of the growth and ripening of fruits, Spring and Summer. ἡ ὥρα, sc. ὥρα τοῦ ἔτους, *bellissima et maturissima anni tempestas, quæ profert omnia ad τὴν ὥραν perfectionem, percocta et maturata*. REISKE. In Thucydides we often find this general division of the year into two seasons, θέρος and χειμῶν. The acc. denotes the duration of the campaign.

πολιτικοῖς στρατεύμασιν. The Lacedæmonians did not employ mercenaries in war. Their soldiers were citizens who could not remain long absent from their homes. They had no skill in light, predatory warfare, and scarcely any in sieges, in which they were always inferior. Their usual method was to encircle a town by an intrenchment, and, by thus cutting off all supplies, force it by hunger to capitulate. WACHSMUTH, II. 380—419.

ἀρχαίως. HARPOCRAT. ἀπλῶς, in the old primitive manner. The orator adds, by way of explanation, μᾶλλον δὲ πολιτιζῶς, i. e. *as became citizens and honest men*. In the Oration on the Crown, § 13, πολιτιζόν is coupled with δίκαιον. RUEDIGER aptly quotes XEN. *de Rep. Laced.* 10. 7, where πολιτικὴ ἀρετή is explained by τὰ νόμιμα.

§ 49. ἐκ παρατάξεως, *ex acie instructa*, quoniam ex ea impetus fit. RUED.

τῷ — ἄγειν is dat. of cause or means. MATTH. Gr. § 380. Construe, ἀκούετε δὲ Φίλιππον βαδίζονθ' ὅποι βούλεται οὐχὶ τῷ ἄγειν γάλακτα ὀπλιτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ, κ. τ. λ. οὐχὶ is stronger than οὐκ, and signifies *by no means*. Compare infra, § 51.

ἐξηρτύσθαι, vulg. ἐξηρτήσθαι, which BEKKER with REISKE retains. But our reading is supported by several of the best MSS. (Aug. 1. 2. 3., F, Y. In Cod. Σ 79. gives ἐξαρτύεσθαι), and it is more suitable to the context. THUC. I. 13, *ναυτιζά τε ἐξηρτύετο ἡ Ἑλλάς*. Ibid. 80, *ἄριστα ἐξήρτεται πλοῦτος τε ἰδίῳ καὶ δημοσίῳ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ὀπλοῖς καὶ ὄχλῳ*. SCHAEFER defends it: *Nam ἐξαρτύειν proprium verbum est de apparatu bellico magisque decet hujus loci gravitatem*. But whether ἐξηρτύσθαι or ἐξηρτήσθαι is preferred, the sense of the passage remains the same: *but because he has furnished himself with an army of light troops, cavalry, bowmen, mercenaries, and the like*.

§ 50. ἐπὶ τούτοις, *with these*. Many Codices have *κατατῶν* after *τούτοις*, and omit ἐπὶ, as the vulg. exhibits. The Codex Σ has ἐπὶ, but *κατατῶν* stands in the margin. WOLF interprets, *quibus præfectus*. The prep. ἐπὶ denotes merely a connection (cf. MATTH. Gr. § 586), unless, indeed, we prefer to receive ἐπὶ τούτοις in a general adverbial signification *in these circumstances*. Cf. BERNHARDY, *Gr. Syntax*, p. 250.

ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας, *in defence of the country*.

δι' ἀπιστίας, “*ex mutua partium diffidentia, quod una metuat prodicionem alterius, ut sola dominetur*.” BREMI.

μυχαρίματ' ἐπιστίσας. Compare supra, §§ 17, 18.

ὥς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, *that it makes no difference, that is, to Philip* (BEKKER, first ed., reads *αὐτῷ* before *διαφέρει*), *who followed up his campaigns both winter and summer*. The remainder of the sentence, *οὐδ' ἐστὶν, κ. τ. λ.*, is added by way of explanation: *nor is any season excepted, which he leaves unemployed*.

§ 51. οὐ δεῖ προσέσθαι. This expresses the notion of warning, and is equivalent to *δεῖ μὴ προσέσθαι*, in which sense JACOBS well interprets *Hütet euch also, da ihr diese Umstände wisst, dem Kriege Eingang in unsere Gränzen zu verstaten*.

ἐνίθεωρ, *simplicity, i. e. the straightforward, open war*

described above, § 48. "This term is employed," observes WOLF, "because no stratagems or treachery was resorted to, and campaigns were made at stated seasons of the year."

ἐκτραχλίσθῃναι. The *Etymol. Magnum*. explains ἔστιν ἄρτι τοῦ διαμαρτάνειν ἐκπεσόρτα, ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν τοῦς ἵππους ἀναβαυρόντων. The verb, as employed here, signifies *to plunge headlong into destruction*, in which sense WOLF renders, *colla frangatis*.

ὥς ἐκ πλείστον, *as much as possible*. VIGER. p. 598. Most commentators understand it in regard to time. WOLF: *quam diutissime ante*. JACOBS: *von weitem her*.

τοῖς προέγμασι, κ. τ. λ. To be connected with σκοποῦντας. The sense is, *but in your measures and preparations, you should provide that he does not stir from home*, i. e. prevent his leaving Macedonia. Understand δεῖ.

§ 52. πολλὰ γύσει πλεονεκτήμαθ' ἡμῶν ἐπάσχει, κ. τ. λ., *We possess, it is true, many natural advantages, provided, etc.* REISKE from four MSS. edits ἑμῶν, which is found also in *Cod. Σ*; but BEKKER and VOEMEL ἡμῶν, as the context requires.

Πρὸς — Εἰς. *Comp. Olynth. III. § 1.*

ἧς — πολλῇ. Render this, *the greatest part of which*. In such expressions the partitive is put in the same gender as the substantive which it governs. DEM. *Or. adv. Lept. § 8*, τὸν ἥμισυν — τοῦ χρόνου. Numerous examples are collected by F. A. WOLF *ad Lept.* p. 223.

ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν. See *Phil. I. § 34*, note.

ἄλλα μυρία. *μυρία* with this accent is used for any indefinite number (KUEHNER, *Gr.* § 99. 2). As we should say, *and ten thousand others*.

ἀγῶνα, *battle*, is distinguished from πόλεμος, *war*, which, being of greater duration, demands other resources than armies. Demosthenes speaks more fully of the requisites for each in *Or. de Class.* § 9. "Every war," says he, "necessarily demands vessels and money and advantageous

positions. In all these respects the king of Persia is better supplied than we; but a battle requires above all things brave men, and in these we and our allies possess greatly the advantage."

*ἄμεινον* — *ἔσχηται*, *he is more exercised*. Since the conclusion of peace the Athenians had been sitting idle at home, whereas Philip and his army had been almost constantly in the field, engaged in Illyria, Thessaly, Thrace, and in a great number of other expeditions.

§ 53. *Οὐ μόνον* — *οὐδὲ*. The adv. *μόνον* belongs to both negatives. SCHAEFER remarks: *Adverte Græcorum consuetudinem in talibus enuntiationibus adverbium μόνον soli priori membro sic tribuentium, ut etiam ad posterius pertineat*. Examples of this construction may be seen in *Or. de Corona*, §§ 2, 93, 107. To avoid tautology, however, in rendering, the sense may be sufficiently given by translating *οὐδὲ*, *and*.

*τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου*, equivalent to *τῷ πολέμῳ*. Compare *supra*, § 45.

*λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ . . . ἐξείροις*, No effectual resistance can be made to Philip as long as public opinion countenances the traitors who plead his cause. The war must commence at home in their own bosoms, for it is only by hating *with mind and soul*, and by punishing the enemies within the city, that they can hope to conquer those without. The orator expresses the same conviction in *Or. de Cherson.* § 61: *τοὺς πεπρακότας αὐτοὺς ἐξείρω μισεῖν τε καὶ ἀποτυμπανίσαι. Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσῃτ' ἐχθροὺς ἐπιχετοῦντας ἐξείρω. πρὶν ἂν — κολάσῃτε*. The subjunctive aorist with *πρὶν ἂν*, *ἔως ἂν*, etc., has the force of a future perfect. Cf. *SOPH. Antig.* 171. *μισῆσαι* est *odium concipere*; *μισεῖν*, *odisse*. FRANKE.

§ 54. *οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω*, *I do not know what to call it*.

*πολλάκις γὰρ, κ. τ. λ.* Render, *for often the apprehension forces itself upon my own mind that some daemon is driving*



*the republic on to perdition.* A melancholy, disheartened spirit pervades the whole of this oration. A heavy doom seems to weigh upon Athens, which, on account of the vile treachery of some citizens and the mad folly of others, the orator has little hope of averting.

It was an ancient and common belief among the Greeks, that the gods perverted the mind of him whom they had marked for destruction. This was effected through *Ἄτιη*, who was sent to infatuate him and delude him to the accomplishment of his own ruin. SOPHOCLES cites an old adage of this kind, which he calls *famous* (κλειρὸν ἔπος), *Antig.* v. 599 :

τὸ κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ' ἐσθλὸν  
τῷδ' ἔμμεν, ὅτῳ φρένας  
θεὸς ἄγει πρὸς ἅταν.

So EURIPIDES, quoted by LYCURGUS, *Or. adv. Leocr.* § 92 :

ὅταν γὰρ ὀργὴ δαιμόνων βλάβη τινα,  
τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πρῶτον ἐξαφαιρεῖται φρενῶν  
τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἐσθλόν, εἰς δὲ τὴν χεῖρῳ τρέπει  
γνώμην, ἣν' εἰδῇ μηδὲν ὦν ἀμαρτάνει.

*Denn wem der Götter Willen Untergang beschloss,  
Dem raubt er aus dem Busen alsobald zuerst  
Den klugen Sinn, und wandelt ihn in Thorheit um,  
Damit sein Irrthum selber ihm verborgen sei.*

JACOBS.

Such passages are of frequent occurrence among the ancients, who appear to have regarded in the actions of the gods not so much the moral effect as the arbitrary display of might and superiority above human nature.

ἂν τύχητε. Compare *Phil.* I. § 46. TOURREIL: *Soit envie, ou malignité, soit penchant pour la satire, ou quelque autre motif que ce soit.* ISOCRAT. *Panath.* ed AUG. p. 444, λέγοντας ὅ, τι ἂν τύχωσιν, quodcunque obviam fuerit garrere.

ὧν οὐδ', *z. τ. λ.* Construe in the following order : ἔτι οὐδ' ἂν ἀρνηθεῖεν ὥς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι.

λοιδορεῖσθαι is used with the dat., λοιδορεῖν with the acc. MATTH. Gr. § 383; BERNHARDY, *Gr. Synt.* p. 99. In the mid. it signifies, *to engage in an abusive quarrel with any one.*

§ 55. οὐχί πω, a stronger expression for οὐπω. The sense is, *And this is not the worst, though it is bad enough.* So in *Or. de Cherson.* § 30, καὶ τὸ μὲν τούτων τινὰς εἶναι τοιούτους δεινὸν ὃν οὐ δεινόν ἐστιν.

The subject of παρασχευάζει is τὸ ἐθελεῖν ἀκροᾶσθαι τῶν τοιούτων. *Atque spectate, quanta ex eo mala exsistunt, quod tales audire vultis.* WOLF.

ἀκροᾶσθαι, vulg. and BEKK. RUEDIGER edits ἀκούειν, which is also found in many good *Codices.* Compare DISSEN *ad Or. de Cor.* § 2.

§ 56. The orator proceeds to show the dangers of this course, citing the example of several other cities which have brought on their own ruin in a similar manner. Most of them have already been alluded to several times in these orations.

τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τινές, *some of those in the administration of affairs, magistrates.* Similarly, THUCYD. III. 28, οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν — ὄντες, *qui reipublicæ præerant.* GOELLER. In the same sense, THUCYD. VI. 39, οἱ τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντες. ISOCRAT. *Panath.*, οἱ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντες.

The gen. Φιλίππου depends on Ἦσαν. *They were Philip's,* because he had purchased them with his presents.

τοῦ βελτίστου. BREMI regards this also as dependent on Ἦσαν, interpreting εἶναι τοῦ βελτίστου, *studere rebus optimis.* εἶναι is very commonly used to denote possession, as of property, connected with which idea is the signification of *to be devoted to, or to belong to, as to a class.* It is very rare that it is used to denote the *devotion of persons to a thing,* without a preposition, and this requires to be supported by examples. In the meantime, until this is made clear by

further investigation, I prefer to govern τοῦ βελτίστου by ὑπέρ understood, which is indeed found in one of the oldest edd. (*Felic*). Compare DEM. *contr. Androt.* § 64, τὸν γὰρ ὑπὲρ πόλεως πρῶτοντι τί δεῖ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἴθως μιμεῖσθαι. *Or. de Cherson.* § 69, ὅστις δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου πολλὰ ἐραρτιοῦται. *Ibid.* § 32, ἔρεκα τοῦ βελτίστου λέγω.

ὅπως μὴ δουλεύσωσιν. I have adopted this reading from *Cod. Σ*, which frequently has ὅπως μὴ joined with the subj. mode, which BEKKER and other editors almost universally reject for the ind. fut. But ὅπως μὴ is often merely equivalent in use to μὴ (see PASSOW, *Gr. Lex.*); or, where the purpose is *negative*, to ἵνα μὴ (*MATTH. Gr.* § 623), when the subj. aor. may be employed with the greatest propriety (cf. *infra*, § 69; VIGER. p. 436). BERNHARDY, *Gr. Syntax*, p. 402, observes that the idiom had become established, that these particles required either the subj. aor. or ind. fut., between which there is in such case very little difference (compare THUCYD. IV. 66).

Πότεροι δὴ. The particle δὴ has the effect of making something prominent which is known or acknowledged, or something presupposed to which a general agreement is expected. The orator is sure that there can be but one answer to the question. See C. O. MUELLER, *Eumenid.* p. 183.

τοὺς ἱππέας προῦδосαv. Demosthenes in *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 266, relates that five hundred Olynthian horse were treacherously delivered into the hands of Philip by their own officers.

Οἱ τὰ Φιλίππον, κ. τ. λ., answers to the preceding question.

ὅτ' ἔν' ἡ πόλις. ἔν' is emphatic: *while the city was yet in existence*.

ὥστε τὸν γ'. κ. τ. λ. The order of construction is: ὥστε ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἐπέσθη ἐκβαλεῖν τὸν γ' Ἀπολλωνίδην. Apollonides belonged to the anti-Macedonian party. He is mentioned again *infra*, § 66. BREMI is wrong in asserting

that he was the general who betrayed the cavalry to Philip.

§ 57. τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο, *this habit*, viz. that of listening to those venal orators. Cf. *supra*, § 55.

οὐ — μόνον — δ' οὐδ' αὖτις are to be explained as in § 53.

ἐν Ἐρετρίας. When Philip was taking measures to get possession of the cities of Eubœa, Plutarch, who was then tyrant of Eretria (cf. *supra*, § 33), implored the Athenians to aid him in expelling the Macedonians from the island. Thereupon a force was despatched under the command of Phocion, who, though decoyed by traitors into an ambush at Tamynæ, and deserted by Plutarch himself (WINIEWSKI, p. 162), gained a signal victory over the Macedonian and Phocian troops. BOECKH, *Staatsh.* II. 110. Plutarch was afterwards expelled by Phocion, because he was false to the Athenians, and endeavored to excite the Eubœans to revolt (BOECKH, *ibid.* ex ULPIAN. ad DEM. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 290; WINIEWSKI, p. 163). A free government was therefore again established, and the people governed themselves for a time, till, dissensions again arising, the majority decided to call in the aid of Philip, who installed the three tyrants mentioned below (BRUECKNER, *König Phil.* p. 248). The time in which these events occurred is still a subject of controversy. From an allusion of Demosthenes, in his oration against Midias, to this expedition to Eubœa, it appears that this took place immediately before that oration was written. In what year was that oration written? On the determination of this question hangs another and more important one: In what year was Demosthenes born? In that oration he said he was then thirty-two years old. BOECKH (*Ueber die Zeitverhält. der Dem. Rede geg. Meid.*, Berl. Acad. der Wissenschaft. 1818–19) assigns this oration to Ol. 106. 4. More recently, DROYSEN (*Ueber das Geburtsjahr des Demosth.*, *Rh. Mus.* 4tes Jahr.) has made an investigation, from which he concludes that the orator was born near the close of Ol. 99, 2 (about June 382 B. C.). At the same time, and by a different method, Prof.



C. F. HERMANN was led to nearly the same result. He places it in the following autumn, about November (*Götting. Lec. Cat. Wint. 1845 – 46, De Demosth. anno natali*), in the beginning of Ol. 99. 3. The expedition to Eubœa and the expulsion of Plutarch would, therefore, fall about the second year of the 107th Olympiad.

*ἀπαλλαγέντος* ULPIAN explains by *ἀπελαθέντος*.

*τῶν ξείνων*. These soldiers had been in the service of the Athenians, but as they became turbulent because they did not receive their pay, Plutarch had advanced the money, and thus won them to his own service. It is related that, with the aid of these mercenaries, he took the Athenian cohorts prisoners, with Molossus, their leader, the successor of Phocion, whom he refused to set at liberty except on the payment of fifty talents as a ransom. LUCCHES. ex. PLUT. *Phoc. Vit. c. 13*, and ULPIAN, *ad Or. adv. Mid. p. 360*. RUED. *Com. Hist. p. 217*; VOEMEL, *Prol. Phil. I. et Olynth. p. 81*.

*Ἀκούοντες δὲ τούτῳ τὰ πολλά*, *his auscultantes in plerisque*. WOLF. *τούτῳ*, i. e. the party in favor of committing affairs to Philip's adjudication.

*τελευτῶντες*, *at last*. MATTH. *Gr. § 558*.

§ 58. *Καὶ γὰρ τοι*. Compare *Phil. I. 6*. The word *σύμμαχος* is added with bitter irony.

*Καὶ μετὰ . . . σώζεσθαι*, *Posteaque e regione populares expulit, quum bis jam pro libertate contenderent*. WINIEWSKI. This is evidently a more correct rendering than that of WOLF, who connects *δὲ* with *ἐξελίλακεν*. The sense is, "The first rebellion was quelled, but when the liberal party endeavored the second time to regain their freedom, they were banished."

The words *τότε μὲν . . . Παμφερύωρος* given in the foot-note are wanting in *Cod. Σ, pr.*, and have strongly the air of having been appended afterwards. SPENGLER considers that they must have been added by the orator himself, or by one of his contemporaries, as history would scarcely ha

preserved the names of the leaders of such expeditions. Parmenio is mentioned in *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 69, ὁ Παρμενίων δεσπότῃ δακρυῶν. The establishment of the tyrants is generally placed in Ol. 109. 1; the expedition of Eurylochus and Parmenio in Ol. 109. 2. BRUECKNER, *König Phil.* p. 248; RUEDIG. ad h. l.

§ 59. ἀλλ' ἐν Ὁρεῶν. ἀλλ' here serves to introduce another example, and is to be referred to the same principle as above, § 57. The city of Oreus was a place of importance in the northern part of Eubœa. Demosthenes in another oration (*contr. Aristocr.* § 213) mentions that the inhabitants occupied a fourth part of the island. It fell into the hands of Philip through the treachery of a few ambitious citizens, who, in order to obtain the government, bartered away their own independence. This occurred, as is most probable, in the same year in which this oration was delivered (Ol. 109. 3), for in *Or. de Cherson.* § 18, it is mentioned as an event of recent occurrence: ἄν — ἤκη τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅνπερ ἐπ' Ὁρεῶν πρὸ γρ. Cf. WINIEWSKI, p. 170.

ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ, *favebat Philippo, gratiam ἐπολιτεύετο.* SCHAEFER. Cf. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 77, Θηβαίους τὰ πράγματα πράττει.

Εὐφραῖος. The following notice of Euphræus is given by HARPOCRATION: οὗτος Ὁρεΐτης ἦν το γένος, μετέσχε δὲ καὶ τῆς Πλάτωνος διατριβῆς. TOURREIL observes: *La conduite du disciple fit honneur au maître.* ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι, &c. ἔπραττε is to be repeated here: *Euphræus was laboring that his fellow-citizens might be free, etc.* The ind. fut. expresses the certain success which would have followed the adoption of his counsels.

§ 60. ὑβρίζετο καὶ προὐπηλακίζετο. The former is the generic, the latter the specific term. Compare *Or. adv. Androt.* § 58, ὑβρίζεται καὶ προπηλακίζεται. *Mishandeln und mit Füßen treten.* BREMI.

πολλὰ ἂν εἴη λείπειν. Similarly ISOCRAT. *Evag.* p. 302, διελθεῖν πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἴη.

πρότερον τῆς ἀλώσεως, *previous to the taking of the city.* πρότερον, like πρό, governs the gen. Cf. BERNHARDY, *Gr. Syntax*, p. 233.

ἐνδειξεν. This and the noun ἐνδειξις were legal terms employed concerning lodging information against persons who were open and manifest violators of the laws. POL-LUX: ἐνδειξις δὲ ἦν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα ὁμολογουμένον ἀδικήματος, οὐ κρίσεως, ἀλλὰ τιμωρίας δεομένου. “Atque ἐνδειξις proprie erat delatio eorum, qui legibus aut iudicium sententiis aliquo aut loco aut munere aut jure exclusi, tamen cum locum adierant, aut jus illud atque munus usurpaverant.” SCHOEM. *de Comit. Ath.* p. 175. The term ἐπαγγελία was used in cases where information was lodged against those who had not yet been tried, and whose guilt was not yet proved. Concerning ἐνδειξις, cf. BOECKH, *Staatsh.* I. 417 et seqq.; C. F. HERM. *Antiq. Gr.* § 137, n. 5; WACHSMUTH, II. 1. p. 295.

Συστραφέτεσ, *clubbed or banded together.* ÆSCHINES, II. p. 177, οὔτοι ῥῦν ἐπ’ ἐμὲ συστραφέτεσ ἵκονσι. DEM. *Or. contr. Aristocr.* § 170, συστραφέτων τοῦ τε Βηρισάδου καὶ τοῦ Ἀμαδόκου, which WOLF renders, *et Berisade et Amadoco conspirantibus.*

χορηγὸν (see *Phil.* I. § 36), used to signify one *who pays the expenses of any transaction.* So used of Philip, DEM. *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 216, Φιλίππῳ χορηγῷ χρώμερος.

§ 61. ἀποτυμπαρίσαι signifies literally, *to put to death by cudgelling.* BEKKER, *Anecd.* p. 438, ἀποτυμπαρίσαι· οὐκ ἀπλῶς τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι, ἀλλὰ τυμπάροις ἀποκτεῖναι. The τύμπαρον was a wooden club or staff, anciently employed in the execution of condemned criminals, but in later times superseded by the sword.

ἐπιτίδειον, in the sense of ἄξιον, like δίκαιος, *Phil.* II. § 37. So ÆSCHIN. *Or. contr. Ctesiphon.* § 230, οὐκ

ἐπιτίδειός ἐστι δοῦραι δίχην. Compare also DEM. Or. contr. Androt. § 57. Sic Latine idoneus pro dignus. SCHAEFER.

οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ὁπόσῃς ἡβούλονται. *they conducted themselves with as much license as they chose.* οἱ μὲν denotes the partisans of Philip, the traitors above mentioned. βούλεσθαι with ὅπως, ὁπόσως, and the like signifies *unbounded freedom of action.* Cf. BREMI ad h. l.

μεμημέροι from Codices Σ, F, Bar. Vulg. μεμημέρος, which BEKKER and VOEMEL retain. The plural is defended by FUNKHAENEL, *Obs. crit. in Phil.* III. p. 12. τις is used collectively. Compare *Phil.* I. § 48; BERNHARDY, *Gr. Syntax*, p. 439.

ῥίξει φωνήν, *to utter a word, to speak out.* So in Latin, *rumpere vocem*, VIRG. *Æn.* III. 246, IX. 377. "Significanter dictum: loqui, tamquam ruptis vinculis, quibus timor vocem constrinxerat." SCHAEFER.

διασχευασμένοι, *drawn up in order of battle, instructa acie.* WOLF.

οἱ μὲν — οἱ δέ. The former refers to τῶν πόλλων.

§ 62. οὕτως — αἰσχρῶς καὶ κακῶς, *thus, in this base and dastardly manner.*

τοὺς — σώζοντας, obj. of ἐκβαλόντες. αὐτοὺς refers to the tyrants themselves. Westermann reads ἐαυτοὺς. The sense is, "they banished and put to death those who protected them when they were accused of treason by Euphræus, and who were ready to treat the latter with every indignity." Concerning ποιεῖν with two acc., cf. MATTH. *Gr.* § 415. WOLF and AUGER understand the expression *Εὐφροῶν ὁτιοῦν ποιεῖν* in a good sense: "who were ready to encounter every danger to protect their country and liberate Euphræus." In which BREMI concurs. But JACOBS very justly observes, that the aim of the orator is to exhibit the baseness of the traitors in the strongest light, showing that they now treated with despotic cruelty the very people to whom they formerly owed their own safety, τότε sufficiently



indicates the time to which the passage is to be referred. SCHAEFER interprets *ὅτιοῦν ποιεῖν*, *omnibus modis vexare, alles mögliche anzuthun*.

*ἔργῳ μαρτυρήσας*, κ. τ. λ., *testifying by this deed that he had opposed Philip, in behalf of the citizens, from upright and pure motives*.

§ 63. τὸ καὶ. This reading is exhibited by the *Codices* Σ, Aug. <sup>1.2.3.</sup>, F. and *pr.* Υ. BEKKER has τοῦ. The former is received as more correct by the principal recent editors. Compare *Or. de Cherson.* § 56, *Τί ποτ' οὐν ἐστὶ τὸ αἴτιον, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τὸν μὲν*, κ. τ. λ. FRANKE quotes PLAT. *Lach.* p. 190. E, ἀλλ' ἴσως ἐγὼ αἴτιος — τὸ σὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι μὴ τοῦτο. Compare further XEN. *Anab.* II. 5. 22, ed. DINDORF, ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρωσ τοῦτου αἴτιος τὸ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐμὲ πιστὸν γινέσθαι. This accusative τὸ is absolute and severed from all syntactical connection. It signifies what the speaker means to say, and serves to introduce the explanation. FUNKHAENEL therefore interprets *dico, intelligo, cogito hoc*. Cf. HERM. ad SOPH. *Aj.* v. 114. The force of it may be thus given: *You wonder, perhaps, what can be the reason for this, that, etc.*

*ὅπερ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν*, κ. τ. λ., *the very [cause] which exists among you, — because it is sometimes impossible for those who advocate the best interests of the commonwealth to court popular favor, even if they would*. The orator means that there are times when public affairs are in a bad condition, and when the honest and patriotic statesman is obliged to speak unpleasant truths and propose disagreeable remedies. Compare *Phil.* I. § 38.

*Τὰ — πρόγματ'*, *salus et libertas patriæ*. BREMI.

*Οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς*, κ. τ. λ., *But the others* (i. e. the venal orators) *coöperate with Philip in the very things in which they cajole the people*. These are general remarks, which apply not less to Athens than to those other cities, the story of whose downfall he now resumes.

§ 64. *Εἰσφύσειν ἐξέλκεον*. Supply *οἱ μέρ*, viz. the sin-

cere patriots. Concerning this ellipsis, see HERM. *ad* VIGER. p. 699; MATTH. *Gr.* § 287, n. 4. The expressions εἰσφέρειν χροῖματα, εἰσφέρειν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, etc. (cf. *Phil.* I. § 7), were common political expressions, to signify *the payment of an extraordinary tax, which was levied on property in times of public emergency*. The εἰσφορά was collected to meet the expenses of war; no one was exempt, as was the case in regard to the λειτουργία; delay in payment was attended with confiscation. HERM. *Staatsalt.* § 162; BOECKH, *Staatsh.* I. 416. This subject is treated by F. A. WOLF, *Prol. ad Lept.* p. 94, and WACHSMUTH, *Gr. Antiq.* II. 1. p. 136.

μη πιστεύειν, sc. Φιλίππῳ. This verb also depends on ἐξέλεον. The points of dispute between the two parties are given with extraordinary brevity and force, and so worded as to bear directly upon the controversies in Athens. Compare supra, § 8 et seqq.

ὥς ἐγκατελήφθισαν, *donec circumventi sunt*. WOLF. *Bis sie in dem Netze gefangen waren*. JACOBS.

ταוט' ἔλεγον. Some MSS. have after these words καὶ ἐλύπουρ οὐδέν; in others, they are found only on the margin. The recent editors reject them as a gloss.

οἱ δ'. Supply thus: οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ταῦτ' ἔξ ὧν ἔμελλον σωθ.

The same *Codices* which have καὶ ἐλύπουρ οὐδέν have also προσῆσαν δ' ἀπέρχθαι appended to σωθήσεσθαι. The rhythm of the period requires that both should be received or both rejected. Neither of them is necessary to the sense.

Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα. RUEDIGER incorrectly interprets τελευταῖα as an adjective: *multa eaque ultima*. The intervention of the particle δὲ and of τὰ renders such a connection inadmissible. τὰ τελευταῖα is to be taken adverbially, as usual. Compare supra, § 12. For the sense is, that the people yielded most of their rights at the last moment, when they no longer had any hopes of being able to retain them.

οὐχ οὕτως, *z. t. l., not so, i. e. not indifferently*. AUGER: *nec temere, nec gratia causa, nec per ignorance*.

τοῖς ὅλοις. Understand this as relating to Πολλὰ: *conceding much when they deemed themselves inferior in all, in danger of being robbed of the whole.* Concerning this construction of ἡπτάσθαι, see *supra*, § 36, note.

§ 65. μηδὲν ἐν ὑμῖν ἐρόν, *that nothing is in your power.* FUNKHAENEL: *quum scietis re reputata nihil in vobis situm esse.* The reading ἐξλογιζόμενοι yields a much more suitable sense than the vulg. ἐκ λογισμοῦ of BEKKER.

μη γέροιτο. Compare *Phil.* II. § 37. *It is to be hoped, indeed, that your affairs may never come to this extremity, but if this should happen, you would better die a thousand times than do anything from obsequiousness to Philip.* Such is in general the sense of the passage. The correction of the text from *Cod.* Σ γέροιτο μὲν — τεθράναι δὲ establishes a clear and consistent connection, which is by no means clear in the vulg., γέροιτο — τεθράναι γάρ. Further, the words καὶ προσέσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λεγόντων τινάς, which are found after Φίλιππον in the MSS. (except Σ), and in various editions, have been thrown into the foot-note, as they clearly could have formed no part of the original text. For certainly Demosthenes did not anticipate the demand of Alexander and the persecutions which the patriot orators were, several years later, called upon to endure. The conjecture of Spengel, that it is not intended to signify the delivering up of the orators, but simply a disregard of them and a rejection of their counsels, is against the plain sense of the words.

§ 66. Καλὴν γ' — χάριν, is highly ironical. *Fine thanks surely.* Compare *Cic. Or. in Cat.* I. 11, *Præclaram vero — gratiam.* The omission of μὲν in the first member corresponding to δ' in the second, as well as that of the words ἀπειλήσασιν χάριν in the following sentence, is to be attributed to oratorical brevity.

πρόσβες ἀπὸ λαισε. Demosthenes in another place (*Or. de Fal. leg.* § 75) calls the Eubœans καταρότους (*exsecrandos*) because they had refused to obey the warnings and

counsels of the Athenians. This embassy was probably sent in Ol. 109. 2. See WINIEWSKI, p. 171; BRUECKNER, *König Phil.* p. 252. Compare supra, § 57.

ἐγείσατο, sc. Philip. *He has finely spared the Olynthians*, etc. Lasthenes was the commander who betrayed the Olynthian cavalry into the hands of Philip. Compare supra, § 56. See also WINIEWSKI . p. 67.

§ 67. Μοοία καὶ κακία, κ. τ. λ. Supply ἐστὶ, a very frequent ellipsis, concerning which cf. BERNHARDY, *Gr. Syntax*, p. 330. It is *folly and cowardice to nourish such hopes*, etc. This is to be understood in general of the flattering promises held out by the demagogues in Athens, and their assurances that no danger was to be apprehended.

κακῶς βουλευομένους, sc. ὑμᾶς, *adopting evil counsels and unwilling to do what duty requires*. Wenn man Keine schicklichen Gegenstanden trifft. JENISCH. AUGER has αὐτοῖς after βουλευομένους, which is omitted in Σ. Υ, and rejected by BEKKER.

τηλικαύτην ἡρεῖσθαι πόλιν, κ. τ. λ. The sense of the passage is, *to imagine that they inhabit a city of such magnitude that they cannot possibly suffer any calamity whatever*. The subject of ἡ is contained in ὅτιοῦρ lit. *whatever it might be*. The part. ἄρ possesses a strong potential force. Compare VIGER. p. 481.

§ 68. Καὶ μὴν καὶ κεῖνό γε. Compare supra, § 30.

ἔσπερόν ποτ', i. e. when calamities have come. Concerning γὰρ in a question, see *Phil.* I. § 10, note. WOLF renders: *Quis enim putasset hæc futura? Hercule vero: illud enim atque illud, faciendum fuerat, et hoc non faciendum*.

τὸ καὶ τὸ ποῆσαι. Similarly *Or. de Cor.* § 243, εἰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος οὕτως, οὐκ ἄρ ἀπέθανεν. MATTH. *Gr.* § 285.

πόλλ' ἄρ ὤλεται. Repeat the preceding verbs. εἰ.... ἄρ. See *Phil.* I. § 1: *which if they had foreseen they would not have perished*.

§ 69. σῶσται, i. e. σῶν ᾗ. SCHAEFER. *As long as the*



*vessel is safe.* The verb has precisely the sense of the adj. with the copula, as below, ἐσμεν σῶοι. The singular of this adjective was not commonly used among the Attics.

ἂν τε — ἂν τ'. Compare supra, § 16.

ναύτην, the sing. used indefinitely instead of ναύτας. πᾶντ' ἄνδρα ἐξῆς, κ. τ. λ., *every man in turn should take the watch.*

ἀνατρέψῃ, κ. τ. λ., *that no one whether intentionally or unintentionally, upset it.* Similarly ÆSCHINES, III. 158, νόμον ἔθεσθε, ἕαν τις ἀντῶν ἄκων ἐν τῷ πόρῳ πλοῖον ἀνατρέψῃ, τούτῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι πάλιν πορθμεῖ γενέσθαι.

ὑπερσχη, understand τοῦ σκάφους. Render, *But when the sea has overcome the ship, labor is vain*, ὑπερέχω in this sense governs the genitive.

§ 70. καὶ ἡμεῖς, *and so we.* Concerning καί after a comparison, see *Phil. I.* § 41, note.

ἄξιωμα in this sense refers to the rank and consequence of Athens among the other states. The orator, instead of applying the simile of the ship to the administration of the government, which he feels confident that his quick-minded hearers have already done, suddenly interrupts himself with the question, τί ποιῶμεν; *What can we do?* as if it came from one of his audience.

πάλοι τις, κ. τ. λ. Order of construction: ἵσως τις κάθηται (ὁ) πάλοι ἂν ἰδέως ἐρωτίσῃ. Doubtless many a one sits in the assembly who already would gladly ask. WOLF renders: *jamdudum aliquis in hoc consessu libenter fortasse interroget.* Concerning the omission of the article with the participle when an indefinite person is spoken of, see *MARTH. Gr. Gr.* § 570. ἂν is to be constructed with the fut. part. as in *XEN. Mem.* II. 2. 4. ὥς οὐκ ἂν μείζονος κακοῦ φόβῳ τὴν ἀδικίαν πᾶσσοιτες. F. A. WOLF (*ad Lept.* p. 344), observes that there is a close affinity between such a future and the subjunctive. — ἵσως is used in the sense of *doubtless*, as it frequently is by the Attic writers, where the notion of confidence prevails over that of mere possibility,

as is the case in this sentence. PEERLKAMPF ad XEN. EPH. p. 212. The same view seems to have been taken by JACOBS: *Gewiss hat schon mancher diese Frage gethan und erwartet ihre Beantwortung.*

καὶ — δέ. These particles serve to give prominence and force to the word with which they are connected: *and write too.* Compare *Olynth.* III. § 15, where BREMI interprets καὶ — δέ, *et quod magis est*; also, DEM. *Or. contr. Androt.* § 33.

χειροτονήσετε. The authorities differ here in the same manner as in *Phil.* I. § 30, the *Cod. Σ* and others having the ind. fut., but others the imperat., which BEKKER retains. But the imperat. is clearly not suited to the context, for how could he order his hearers to vote when no proposition had yet been made?

§ 71. παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ ποιήσαρτες, perf. particip. joined with the aor., see supra, § 26.

ἤδη, *immediately.* The orator demands that the preparations shall be completed before the other states are invited to join them. Similarly *Or. de Cherson.* § 76, *αἰνὸν δεῖν — πρόσβεις ἐκπέμπειν πρυτανεὶ τοὺς διδάξοντας νοθεύοντας πρᾶξοντας.*

ἂν τι δέῃ, *if need be, in case of emergency.* Compare *Phil.* I. § 15.

χρόνους γ' ἐμποιῶτε. The expression χρόνους ἐμποιῶν signifies to *interpose a delay.* DEM. *Or. contr. Aristocr.* § 93, οἱ δὲ γραψάμενοι καὶ χρόνους ἐμποιήσαρτες. WOLF renders thus: *sin minus, rem saltem differatis.*

72. Ἐπειδὴ γάρ ἐστι, sc. ἡμῖν.

συνεστῶσης, *composed* of many men. The idea is, that a war against a monarch who has no one's will to consult but his own, is a different matter from one with a democratic state, in which the want of unanimity retards and weakens their operations. *Or. de Corona*, § 235, may be cited as explanatory of this passage. Speaking there of the great advantages which Philip (as autocrat) possessed in war, he

says the chief of them was this very unity of power. He could keep his army constantly in the field ; he could adopt what measures he pleased, free from the delay of proposing decrees and making public speeches ; he was not liable to be called to account by any one, but was himself the sole master and director of all.

ἰσχὺν. Repeat the preposition here. Compare § 63.

προεβείαι, sc. ἄρχηστοι ἐγένοντο, *nec superioris anni legationes per Peloponnesum illæ fuerunt irritæ*. WOLF. The preposition *περὶ* is used in allusion to the variety of places which the embassy visited. *κατηγορίαι*, *remonstrances*, *protests*, because those states favored the projects of Macedonia. The sense is well given by TOURREIL: *Nous allâmes de ville en ville dans le Peloponnese y reveiller, y ranimer les peuples par nos plaintes et par nos remontrances*. αἱ refers to *προεβείαι*. The passage is suspected of being corrupt. WINIEWSKI conjectures (*Com. Hist. et Chron. in Or. de Cor.* p. 158) that Ἀναγνῆναι should be read in place of καὶ κατηγορίαι. DROYSEN suggests καὶ Ἀμφοκίαν, and more recently SAUPPE, κατ' Ἠπειρον.

Πολύευκτος. Polyeuctus (Sphettius) belonged to the same political party as Demosthenes, though he appears to have opposed him in the affair of Midias (Cf. *Or. contr. Mid.* § 139). That, however, was but a private quarrel. ἐκείνῳ is here used to point him out as being present. "*Sedebat enim homo in cætu audientium*. SCHAEFER.

Ἡγήσιππος. Hegesippus, an orator of distinction and a zealous opponent of Macedonia, is frequently mentioned by Demosthenes, as in *Or. de Fal. Leg.* § 72 et seqq. The Oration *de Haloneso* is generally ascribed to him by the critics. Cf. LIBAN. *Argum.* of that oration. BRUECKNER (*König Phil.* p. 224) adduces many strong evidences for this opinion. Cf. VOEMEL, *Progr. Frankf.* 1830 ; RÜDIGER *de Canone Philip.* DEM. § 13.

περιήλθομεν. An uncommon use of the verb ; the notion of the circuit made in travelling is transferred to the mission



itself: which we went through with, which we discharged. WOLF renders it by *obivimus*.

ἐποιήσαμεν ἐπισχεῖν. WINIEWSKI (*Comm. Hist. et Chron. in Or. de Cor.* p. 152 et seqq.) refers to Ol. 109, 2, near the middle, the embassy here mentioned into Peloponnesus, which Philip was prevented from passing through on his way to Ambracia. And he demonstrates very conclusively, that it was not the same with that mentioned in *Phil.* II. § 19, as JACOBS supposes. Compare *Or. de Cor.* § 244, in which mention is made of the embassy to Ambracia, where Demosthenes gained a victory over the deputies of Philip. This subject is handled by BRUECKNER, *König Phil.* pp. 225, 247.

§ 73. Οὐ μέντοι λέγω, κ. τ. λ. *I do not, however, say that you should invite the rest, if you are not willing to do for yourselves what is necessary.* Compare supra, § 67.

εὐηθεῖς, cf. § 47, note. The order of construction is: Καὶ γὰρ εὐηθεῖς αὐτοὺς προεμένους τὰ οἰκεία φάσκειν κήδεσθαι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων. The expression κήδεσθαί τινας signifies, *to be anxious for any one.*

φάσκειν, *dictitare.* Compare *Phil.* I. § 46, et supra, § 8.

τὰ παρόντα περιορῶντας, *those who neglect the present.* Compare § 29, note. φοβεῖν, *to cause to fear, to terrify.*

τοῖς μὲν ἐν Χερρόνησῳ, i. e. the forces under Diopieithes. See supra, § 15. Ὀν μὲν — δὲ — δ', cf. VIGER. p. 535.

συγκαλεῖν συνάγειν διδάσκειν νοθετεῖν. “*Συγκαλεῖν in universum est invitare: si invitatio nil effecerit, συνάγειν, quod fortius est, instantis et urgentis; διδάσκειν, edocere de vera rerum conditione iisque quæ inde consecutura sint; νοθετεῖν, edoctos oratione et momentorum gravitate ad factum compellere.*” BREMI.

ἑμῖν. Strict grammatical construction would require the adj., τῇ ἑμετέρῃ; the delicate transition from the abstract notion of a city to that of persons in ἑμῖν was calculated to please his audience. Compare *Or. de Cor.* § 88, τὸ δ' ἑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω.



§ 74. ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποδράσασθαι τὰ πράγματα, *and that you will escape the burden of affairs.* ὑμεῖς. The subject of the infinitive mode here, being identical with the subject of οἴεσθε, is put in the nominative. Χαλκιδέας — Μεγαρέας. Chalcis was the most important city of Eubœa; Megara was also a flourishing commercial city, but the orator refers to them disparagingly, as places from which very little could be expected in the way of protection.

Ἀγαπητὸν γάρ, ἂν, κ. τ. λ., ἐκείνοις *sufficient for them if they protect themselves* — preserve their own independence — τοῦτο τὸ γέρας *this honorable office* of protecting the independence of Greece.

μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων. Similarly *Olynth.* III. § 36, τῆς τάξεως, ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τῆς ἀρετῆς μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν κινδύνων κητσαμενοι κατέλιπον. The words μετὰ πολλῶν . . . κινδύνων are to be considered as connected with both verbs; q. d., *the post of honor was always inseparable from danger.*

§ 75. καθεδεῖτα, fut. m. cf. καθέζομαι. The sense is, but if each shall sit idle, pursuing his own pleasure, etc.

Some MSS. have Εἰ δ' αἶ, which might easily have been changed for ὁ; the vulg. has ποιήσῃ instead of the fut., which is supported by the best authority.

οὐδὲ μὴ ποθ' εὖρη. We have remarked before (*Phil.* I. § 44), that οὐ μὴ with the second aor. subj. expresses the certainty of the indicative future. It is, however, a subjective certainty, so to speak; and in expressions of this nature, the speaker declares his conviction of the impossibility that such a thing could happen, as if he should say, *I am certain that it cannot happen.* In the passage we are at present considering, this negative certainty is extended to future time by the adv. ποθ'. The sentence may, therefore, be thus rendered: "In the first place, he certainly will never find those who will perform his duties; secondly, I fear that we shall be compelled to do every thing at once which we do not wish [to do]." The *Codex Dresdensis*,

compared by RUEDIGER, has the reading οὐ μὴ ποθ' ἐνρίσσει, which though inadmissible, may yet serve to show how the words are to be understood.

§ 76. δὴ is used in the repetition for the purpose of giving prominence to something before advanced. The orator here refers to the propositions made in § 73.

ἀν with the inf. ἐπαρορθοθῆναι expresses the result; the condition being denoted by τούτων γενομένων, *if these things are done*.

βέλτιον. BEKKER with the vulg. has τι before this word. It is not in *Cod. Σ*, and might very naturally have been supplied by another hand.

λέγέτω καὶ συμβουλευέτω, *let him propose and advocate it*. Compare *Phil. II. § 3*.

δόξει. So BEKKER and the other editors, but the *Cod. Σ* has δόξηι (i. e. δόξη); either of which might be received in place of the vulg. δόξειε. RUEDIGER here translates, *Quod vobis prohabetur, id ipsum sit utile*.







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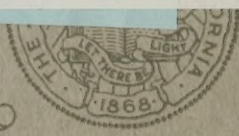
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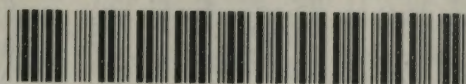
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